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CAUSES OF ANTI-FOREIGN FEELING IN CHINA.

BY GEORGE B. SMYTH, PRESIDENT OF THE ANGLO-CHINESE COLLEGE, FOOCHOW.

WHAT are the causes of the present anti-foreign outburst in North China, and what are the reasons for the bitter anti-foreign spirit which prevails throughout the Empire, and which is kept from springing into universal action only by the firmness of some enlightened and far-seeing Viceroys? I wish to answer both these questions, and in the order in which I have here stated them; though it would probably be more logical to answer the more general question first, as the present situation is to a large extent but a specially malignant outbreak of a disorder which infects the whole Chinese system. Nevertheless, as the terrible crisis in North China is the subject of more immediate interest, it will not be inappropriate to consider it before taking up the larger subject which the second question presents. In discussing these questions, my chief desire is to be entirely fair; and yet it may happen that some will think me too warm an advocate of the Chinese. I shall, indeed, have to present the Chinese side, since no one can justly write of the antagonism of China toward foreigners without showing how large a share the foreigners themselves have had in producing it. The subject is on that account not a pleasant one for us of the West to think of; for, in studying it, we shall see much to be ashamed of, and find that much of the prejudice and hatred of Western men and Western institutions of which we so bitterly complain in the Chinese is due to ourselves, to the way in which we introduced ourselves among them, and to the way in which we have often since treated them. Western injustice toward the East is the cause of much of the Eastern hatred of the West. Nay, more, it will be seen that, when we were moved by the purest and loftiest motives, we did not succeed in making

ourselves welcome. Through ignorance or zeal or the coincidence of unhappy accidents, our very benevolence has itself been misunderstood and offensive.

The first question, as to the causes of the present anti-foreign outbreak in North China, may be put in another form: Who are the Boxers, and how and why have they become what they are? For these people are everywhere considered the cause of the present disturbance, and the chief agents in its murderous crusade against foreigners.

The Boxers are a patriotic secret society; but, as in the case of all other such associations in China, their origin and history are difficult to trace. Though it is but a year since the society began to attract public attention by its depredations against foreigners, it is said to have been in existence for several years. It seems at first to have been partly an athletic association, and partly a kind of mutual protective organization, for defense against the roving bands of robbers which sometimes infest the province of Shan-tung; and it was called by the name which has since become infamous, the "Righteous Harmonious Fist," translated for brevity by the short and expressive word "Boxers." It is certain that it showed no special hostility toward the native Christians, and gave no trouble to missionaries or other foreigners. The question, then, is how to account for the change which made of this society of men, associated to oppose the lawlessness of freebooters, the most cruel and blood-thirsty anti-foreign organization in the history of China. The reasons must be sought in the recent history of Shan-tung, and they are not hard to discover.

Up to the fall of 1897, Shan-tung enjoyed an excellent reputation for its treatment of foreigners and native Christians; indeed, there were more Christians in that province than in any other in the Empire, except Fuh-keen. On the 1st of November of that year, however, there was a riot in which two German Catholic missionaries were brutally murdered, and Germany promptly seized upon the crime as a pretext for what it had long contemplated, the seizure of a portion of Chinese territory. On the 14th, Admiral Diedrichs landed troops at Kiao Chow, and negotiations were entered upon for the formal cession to Germany of that which she had already seized. On the 6th of the following March, a treaty was signed at Peking by which the country round about the Bay of Kiao Chow, as far inland as the neighboring hills, was ceded

to the German Empire for ninety-nine years; the Governor of Shan-tung was dismissed, six other high officials removed, an indemnity of 3,000 taels paid, and a promise made to build three "expiatory" chapels. Germany obtained in addition a concession for two railways in the province, and the right to open mines within a region of territory twenty kilomètres wide along them. These were hard terms, but that which was most bitterly resented was the seizure of territory. This high-handed act worked an ominous change in the attitude of the people toward foreigners, and especially Germans. It was not safe for Germans in small companies to travel in the interior, and three who later unwisely did so were attacked, though they fortunately escaped with their lives. To punish the perpetrators of what the German Government chose to consider another unprovoked crime, the commander of Kiao Chow immediately sent troops to the scene of the attack, and they burned down two villages. This harsh and indiscriminate retaliation, in which innocent suffered as well as guilty, inflamed the people to madness, and many foreigners predicted serious results. These were not long in coming. A bitter anti-Christian, anti-foreign spirit showed itself throughout the province, which was later intensified by the Imperial Decree of March 15th of last year, issued on the demand of France, conferring practically official rank on Roman Catholic bishops and missionaries. The position of equality with Viceroys and Governors thus given to the bishops, and equality with provincial treasurers, provincial judges, taotais and prefects given to the various orders of priests, together with the right of interview without the mediation of consul or minister, gave the Roman Catholics an influence of which the people had good reason to believe they would not be slow to avail themselves. In lawsuits between their adherents and non-Christian people, the latter had, or thought they had, no chance; and, as in other provinces, there was general complaint of the constant interference of the priests in litigation.

Enraged at the injustice thus perpetrated, seeing in the missionaries and the Germans the causes of the country's humiliation, and in the conduct of the latter especially the beginning of an attempt by the foreigners to seize the province and, finally, the whole Empire, the Boxers began the series of crimes which have since made them infamous, preached a patriotic, anti-Christian, anti-foreign propaganda, and resolved to drive from the country

the intruders, and all that they represented. They also made claims to strange spiritual powers to influence the public. They practised hypnotism, and the effects which they thus produced on individuals awed the multitude into a belief in their possession of mysterious, supernatural powers. It came in time to be believed that they could make those who joined them impervious to the bullets of foreigners. The "Boxer spirit" movement, as it accordingly came to be called, spread like wildfire, and led to frightful excesses, the burning of churches, the slaughter of native Christians, the murder of missionaries.

Such, in brief outline, is the history of the rise of the Boxer movement in Shan-tung. But how did it come to spread till it covered the whole province, invaded the metropolitan province of Chi-li, took possession of the capital itself, and now holds within its grasp the persons, alive or dead we know not, of the ministers of the great Powers of the West? There is but one answer—by the connivance of the officials, by the treachery of the Governor of Shan-tung, acting under direct orders from the Empress Dowager herself. Had this wretched and cruel woman been so minded, and had she so ordered, the movement could have been crushed long before it became dangerous; but she refused even to attempt to put it down, and degraded any official who was honest enough to oppose it and protect the Christians and foreigners within his jurisdiction. And all because she thought she saw in the strength of the uprising, in its fierce fanaticism, in its murderous hostility to foreigners the means of accomplishing the most cherished ambition, both of herself and of the bigoted crew of Manchu reactionaries who surrounded her, the expulsion from China of all foreigners and of all the ideas, religious, social and political, which foreigners represent. That this charge is not groundlessly made is shown by the simple fact that Yuan-Shih-kai, the Governor of Shan-tung, and his predecessor, Yu-Hsieu, under both of whom the Boxer uprising has grown, were her own appointees, acting under her immediate orders. The *North China Herald,* the best informed and most ably edited foreign paper in China, in its issue of June 6th, after showing how Governor Yu, because of his intense hatred of foreigners and all Chinese who had anything to do with them, gave open help and encouragement to the Boxers, for which his dismissal was demanded by one of the foreign ministers, says:

"There can be no question about the Boxers having been encouraged by the government, because Yu Hsieu, their patron, after having been recalled to Peking from Shan-tung, was specially honored by the Empress Dowager, and given the Governorship of Shan-se. Yuan-Shih-kai, the new Governor of Shan-tung, could easily have put down the Boxers when he first went to Chinanfu, the provincial capital, but he was not allowed to."

Who prevented him? Who could have prevented him but the Empress Dowager, to whom he owed his appointment, and whose servant he was? These two men, Yu and Yuan, allowed the fiendish work to go on, because she wished it; at a word from her, they would have crushed it. Again, the conduct of which she is here accused is in complete accord with her course ever since, in September of 1898, she deposed the unhappy Emperor for his too zealous devotion to reform, and took the power of the throne into her own hands. Since then, she has seized and beheaded six leaders of the Reform party, banished many more, and dismissed from office every official, not too powerful to be touched, who has shown the least sympathy with the new order. Kang-Yu-Wei, the chief adviser of the Emperor, and the head and front of the movement, she has pursued with implacable vengeance; as recently as the 14th of last February, she offered a reward of a hundred thousand taels for his capture, alive or dead.

That the Boxer outbreak has thus grown to its present terrible proportions largely through her support, given both openly and in secret, is not a matter of inference, but of positive knowledge. If, as late cablegrams report, she has herself fallen a victim to its fury, and has been made a prisoner in the palace, or been poisoned, by the Boxer leader, Tsai-Yi, the Prince of Tuan, one of her special favorites—a man to whom, by a decree of January 31st last, she granted two extra steps in official rank and a eulogistic tablet written by the imperial hand, and whom by a decree of the 7th of March she made Second President of the Imperial Clan Court—it only shows how well her ministers have learned the lesson which she taught them. The fury of even her hatred of foreigners was too mild for some of her favorites. If she seems to have shrunk from the horrors to which her own infamous course has led, they shrink at nothing, not even at the attempted wholesale butchery of the foreign ministers themselves. But the guilt of the movement, with its awful record of crimes, the widespread destruction of property, the massacre of native Christians, the

murders of foreigners, the whole terrible tragedy now being enacted in the North, is chiefly hers.

It is time now to consider the second question proposed at the head of this article: What are the reasons for the bitter, anti-foreign spirit which prevails throughout China? The subject is particularly important, inasmuch as this feeling appears to be of comparatively recent origin. The Chinese have not always shown the hostility to foreigners which so generally characterizes them now. Colquhoun, in his "China in Transformation," says:

> "Before the advent of the Manchus China maintained constant relations with the countries of Asia; traders from Arabia, Persia, and India trafficked in Chinese ports and passed into the interior. The tablet of Sian Fu shows that missionaries from the West were propagating the Christian religion in the eighth century; in the thirteenth, Marco Polo was not only cordially received, but held office in the Empire, and at that time the Christian religious ceremonies were tolerated at Peking, where there was an Archbishop. To the close of the last Chinese dynasty (1644), the Jesuit missionaries were well received and treated at the capital; and, as Huc remarks, the first Tartar Emperors merely tolerated what they found existing. This would seem to show conclusively that the Chinese did not formerly have the aversion to foreigners which is usually assumed."

How are we to account for the change? No one cause produced it; it is the result of a cumulation of causes all working toward the same end.

As the beginning of the change coincided in a general way with the Manchu conquest, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the first and most obvious explanation is that it is due, in part, to the policy of the conquerors. This is the view taken by Huc in his well-known book, "The Chinese Empire." He says:

> "The Manchoos were, on account of the smallness of their numbers in the midst of this vast Empire, compelled to adopt stringent measures to preserve their conquest. For fear that foreigners should be tempted to snatch their prey from them, they have carefully closed the ports of China against them, thinking thus to secure themselves from ambitious attempts from without."

With the exception of the large-minded Kang-Hsi, the greatest of all the Manchu sovereigns, this has been the general policy of the present dynasty. No concession has ever been gained from it except by force, or the threat of force. It has done everything in its power to make friendly relations with the West impossible. It was only in 1842 that the first ports, Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai, were opened to commerce, and that after a

war in which China was worsted. The opening of ports in the Yang-tsze River was by way of indemnity for the murder of Margary, a British consular officer, in 1874. Others have been opened as the result of diplomatic threats, and still others in consequence of the war with Japan. It was by force, too, that China was compelled to enter into diplomatic relations with Western States. The right of their ministers to reside in Peking, and freedom of residence and travel in the interior, both had to be fought for, and were acknowledged only after defeat in war. The Manchu Dynasty has given nothing which was not wrung from it; it has made no concessions of its own accord; it has never taken a single step toward putting its relations with foreign powers on a footing of sincere friendship. And the policy of the rulers has been carried out by the Mandarins, most of whom have ceaselessly striven to make foreign residence in China a painful experience, and to embitter by every means in their power the relations between the foreigners and the people. The terrible situation in North China to-day is but the natural result of this exclusive, anti-foreign policy; the Manchus are making a last desperate effort to expel the West and all that the West stands for from the Empire.

In the changes which the ideas of foreigners, if allowed their proper influence on the people, would effect, they see their own destruction, and are fighting for that which for two centuries and a half they have exercised, the right to misrule and plunder the nation which they conquered. Unhappily, the people do not understand the facts, and centuries of precept and example have taught them to feel for the foreigner part of the hatred with which their rulers are drunk.

It would be fortunate if the Manchus alone were to blame for the anti-foreign feeling of China. Unhappily, the foreigners themselves have had a large share in creating it. The circumstances attending the first introduction of Europeans to the Chinese were such as to give that people the impression that the visitors were little better than pirates and murderers, and not a little has occurred since to deepen that unhappy feeling. "Rapine, murder, and a constant appeal to force," says Gorst, "chiefly characterized the commencement of Europe's commercial intercourse with China." When the first Portuguese traders visited that country in the sixteenth century, they were well received; but they

were soon followed by a horde of unscrupulous adventurers, who sometimes forced their way into the interior and committed high-handed acts of piracy. So incensed were the Chinese at this violence that, when Portugal, a few years later, sent an ambassador to Peking, he was sent back to Canton, thrown there into prison and finally executed.

Still more deplorable was the impression made by the Spaniards. After they seized the Philippine Islands in 1543, a great expansion of trade with China resulted; and such large numbers of Chinese settlers went there that in time they outnumbered the Europeans in the proportion of twenty-five to one. The Spaniards saw in this great influx of Chinese immigrants a menace to their own sovereignty, and they massacred the larger part of the defenceless and innocent Chinese.* The impression which such savage butchery of its people made on their native province of Canton may easily be imagined, and partly accounts both for the reception which the English met with in the following century when they first entered the Canton River, and for the fact that the people of that province are, with the exception of those of Hu-nan, the most truculent haters of foreigners in China.

The early Dutch and English adventurers had also a share in blackening the reputation of Europe in the East, and it is not surprising that the Chinese came in time to look upon all Europeans as barbarians, men whose only objects were robbery and war.

The period of unblushing barbarism came to an end at last, and Europe set about entering into relations with China on the principles of international law. But, even then, the claims made to equality, however reasonable and just, gave great offense to the Chinese Government and people. To understand this, it is necessary to consider a peculiarity of Chinese civilization too often overlooked—its age-long isolation.

The civilization of China is the development of its own national genius and life. Of no nation in the West can this be affirmed. The countries of America and Europe have been so closely related on terms of equality that the civilization of no one of them can be said to be entirely its own. They have so acted and reacted, one upon another, by physical force and moral and intellectual influences, that the civilized life of each is the development, not of its own national genius merely, but that modified

*See "China," by H. E. Gorst, pp. 202, 203.

in many and various directions by the civilization of each of the others. Vastly different have been the conditions under which the civilization of China has grown. With the exception of India, to which she owes Buddhism, I do not know to what other country she is indebted for anything. She has been surrounded by peoples who, in all the great qualities of life, were vastly inferior to her. She developed a splendid literature, an elaborate system of social customs, a noble system of ethics, and they are all her own. Her own, too, were some of the greatest inventions of man—gunpowder, printing, and the mariner's compass. Beginning at a time which antedates the birth of every other nation now living, she has developed, with the exception already noted, her own national life, learning nothing from her neighbors and teaching them all, the quick, intelligent Japanese no less than the slow, phlegmatic Corean. Such a history naturally taught her to look upon herself as the first of nations; she was acknowledged as such by all the nations around her. The inevitable result followed; she looked upon all other countries as her inferiors. When, therefore, men went to her from Europe, not only claiming equality, but professing to be able to teach her, it was a shock to the national pride not easy for the West to appreciate. It is not pleasant for a people who have thought themselves the chosen of the world, and who, it must be admitted, had, under the circumstances, some reason for thinking so, to be summoned to sit at the feet of men whom their peculiar history and recent experience had taught them to look upon as barbarians. The claim to equality, then, made by foreigners in their relations with China has been a cause of offense, a fruitful source of antagonism. If it be said that the claim was right, and that China has had time to learn the folly of her conservatism and the madness of her intolerant national pride, let it be remembered that the feelings of a nation do not easily change, that the prejudices of centuries cannot be overcome by the teachings of a decade.

Another source of friction and bitterness, this time with the Mandarins, has been the attempt to enforce some of the commercial clauses of the treaties, particularly those relating to the abolition of inland taxes on foreign goods. On such importations, between the port of entry and their destination in the interior, a tax called "likin" is levied at various customs barriers on the way. This is a serious burden on foreign trade, and it has been

provided by treaty that imported goods shall be exempt from such charges on payment at the port of entry of an extra sum equal to half the regular import tariff. As the duty so levied would all be paid to the Central Government, it follows that the local administration would thereby be deprived of a large part of its customary revenues. Two results would ensue—difficulty in meeting the expenses of the provincial governments, and a large curtailment of the perquisites or "squeezes" of the officials. It is often, indeed, claimed that the latter are simply robbery, and the cutting off of this source of personal revenue from the Mandarins would be an act of justice. But this is not entirely true. The salaries of the officials are so miserably inadequate to meet their necessary expenses that the officials are compelled to resort to various illegal methods to add to them. That they do so excessively, "squeezing" all that the business will allow, is but too true; but that does not alter the fact that the administrative system whose servants they are forces them to the practice of illegal and dishonest expedients. Before, therefore, the treaty clauses dealing with this subject can be quietly enforced, such administrative changes must be made as will remove from the provincial authorities their greatest temptation to robbery. Until this is done, and it will not be done without pressure from without, there will remain a fruitful source of official antagonism to foreigners, a cause of friction irritable alike to Chinese Mandarins and to foreign officials and merchants.

Missions and missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, have also added to the causes of antagonism. I am aware that this is denied by many of those who are interested in missions, but no one will question it who is acquainted with the facts. It is not wise to argue from the nobility of the missionary motive to its ready appreciation by the Chinese people. The motive, so apparent to us, is not equally apparent to them. They look at it through a medium of unfortunate accompaniments of which we never think. Apart altogether from the offense to the national pride involved in undertaking to teach a faith claiming to be higher than their own, the whole missionary movement is unhappily associated with conquest, and its toleration is the result of successful war. Noble, therefore, though the motives of the Christian Church are, its work is tainted by its association with force and conquest. To thoughtful Chinese familiar with the recent history of their country, the presence of the missionary in

every province, in country villages as well as in great cities, is a reminder of the national humiliation. There are, indeed, exceptions; there are among the leading classes men who look upon the Christian missionaries as China's best and only disinterested friends, and the number of such is happily increasing; but for the present at least the vast majority do not think so.

There are two things in missionary work which distinctly add to the causes of irritation—one, the teaching itself; the other, the partly foreign, partly Chinese political status of those who accept it. They are mistaken who suppose that, because of the excellence of Christianity, it must lead only to peace and has nothing in it to give occasion for offense. The preaching of it is not the innocuous thing which it is sometimes considered. Like every high moral force, when it confronts a lower, conflict is inevitable. The instinct of self-preservation compels the adherents of the old faith to fight for its existence. Christianity not only creates, it also destroys; it sets up new beliefs, new ideals, new standards of conduct, a new object of worship, but it pulls down the old. This is its necessary record everywhere else; it is its record in China.

In religious matters, the Chinese are among the most tolerant of men; but in their case Christianity is opposed to a practice which has prevailed from the very beginning of their history, on which they think the whole fabric of society is based. The opposition of Christianity to ancestral worship is what offends the Chinese most, for they consider it an attack on the most sacred of obligations, on the very foundation of society itself. Missionaries are aware of this, and most of them are scrupulously careful in speaking of it. I have heard many sermons and addresses by them in the seventeen years which I have spent in China, but never one in which the ancestral cult was spoken of offensively. But, while speaking tenderly, the opposition to it is there; the churches have adopted toward it a position of uncompromising hostility, and the people know it. Here lies one of the chief sources of popular hostility to foreigners, and there is no way of avoiding it, unless the policy of toleration be adopted which was followed by the early Jesuits. But, as this was rejected by the Catholics themselves on command of the Pope, it is not likely to be adopted by them again, and it certainly never will be by the Protestants. What, then, is to be done? The thoughtless, ignorant whereof they speak, will say: "Withdraw, rather than con-

tinue an enterprise so provocative of hostility." But this is impossible. The Christian Church must preach Christianity. To ask it to reject its missionary commission is to ask it to commit suicide. No nation has ever yet been Christianized without conflict, and no nation ever will be. Nevertheless, it is unwise not to recognize in the preaching of the new faith a source of antagonism, and it is unjust to censure the Chinese too severely for their opposition to what they do not clearly understand, to a process which they regard as destructive of the fundamental principles of their national life. With the years will come knowledge, but it will come only after opposition and strife.

Two lessons, at least, may be learned from this, namely, the tremendous responsibility which our Missionary Societies incur in sending missionaries to China, and the solemn obligation under which such responsibility puts them to send to that distant, difficult and dangerous field only the choicest men and women they can find. There is no service for which the selection of candidates should be so carefully made. The ordinary qualifications are not sufficient. Zeal alone will not do. Besides the passion for humanity, of which every missionary should be possessed, he should have in addition the great virtues of intellectual sympathy, the power of appreciating another's position, the ability to see the truth where it exists, and tact which is unfailing. With such qualities as these, the missionaries may hope in time to overcome prejudice, make their position clear, and win an acceptance for the great message which they preach. In that message only is China's salvation, for in it alone are the promise and the power to effect the moral regeneration which is her supreme need.

Another cause of bitterness in connection with missionary work is found in the peculiar political status of the native converts, and the immunity from various exactions which the treaties guarantee them. It is often asserted by opponents of missionaries that they are constantly interfering with the ordinary judicial processes of the country, saving their converts from the payment of taxes, and calling upon Consuls and Ministers, irrespective of treaty provisions, to interpose in their behalf. All these charges are untrue, so far, at least, as Protestant missionaries are concerned. Mistakes are sometimes made, but no men are more scrupulous than they in their observance of the laws of the land. Nevertheless, there are real sources of irritation in this connection which

cannot be denied. The clauses of the treaties which guarantee religious liberty to Chinese converts have usually been interpreted to mean that they shall not be persecuted for religion's sake, and, specifically, that they shall not be compelled to contribute to the maintenance of idol temples, or toward paying the expenses of idol processions. Under these heads, many cases are taken by the missionaries to the Consuls, who then refer them to the Chinese officials. Unfortunately, it sometimes turns out on investigation that the cases do not come within the treaty limits at all, but are old troubles, or even new ones, which the Christian complainants persuaded the missionary were instances of religious persecution. The embarrassment of such a discovery is painful, painful to the missionary who was deceived, to the Consul who took the case up, and to the Chinese Magistrate who tried it. Worse than all is the effect in the village where the parties to the trouble reside, where the Christian is accused of trying to use his relation to the foreigners to crush his neighbors. The resulting irritation and prejudice are lamentable in the extreme.

Even when the cases are genuine, and the Christians are declared by the Magistrate exempt from the exactions referred to, there are two parties offended; the people are angry because some of their neighbors are saved by foreign influence from a pressure which they themselves have to submit to and which becomes heavier in proportion as the Christians are relieved from it; and the Magistrate is humiliated because at the demand of a foreign official he has to give judgment against the wishes of a majority of his own people. Here, therefore, is another widespread source of popular irritation. But how is it to be avoided? The question is too complicated to be discussed here. Some would withdraw Consular protection altogether and leave the converts entirely to the laws of the land. In that case, fairness would demand that the missionaries be treated in the same way and be subject to the same laws. But no class of foreigners in China can be left without protection without endangering the interests, if not the lives, of all. Deny the protection of their country to missionaries, and all other foreigners will speedily find that the protection promised them will be of little avail. The problem is one for statesmen, the thing I wish to note being simply that the peculiar position of converts, the privileges and immunities they enjoy, are among the causes of the antagonism which the Chinese entertain toward

foreigners. These observations are made in no spirit of criticism, but with a sincere desire to draw the attention of the missionary authorities and the Christian public to the facts, in order that the subject may be thoroughly studied, and such regulations be adopted, if possible, as will lessen the area of friction and reduce the number of the causes of trouble.

In addition to all this, missionaries are often thought of as spies of their own governments; and by some of those who are familiar with the history of other parts of Asia, the fate of India is feared for their country. Many a time have I been asked what my Government paid me for coming to China, and when I answered, "Nothing," and showed that I had no connection with the Government whatever, my reply was evidently received with no little incredulity. Again, in the minds of many, the whole missionary movement is suspected because of the striking contrast between its professed aim and the conduct of some Christian governments toward China. And surely this cannot be wondered at. With Western missonaries preaching peace and Western governments practicing murder, it should not surprise us if the Chinese suspect the former as much as they fear the latter. You cannot go to a people with the Bible in one hand and a bludgeon in the other, and expect that they will accept either cheerfully.

Some European governments have been guilty, even in recent times, of the most atrocious conduct toward China. In 1884, a French fleet entered the Min River and anchored ten miles below the great city of Foochow, in Southeastern China, to frighten the government at Peking into paying an indemnity demanded by the French Minister for alleged guilty complicity in helping the people of Tonquin in their fight against the seizure of their country by France. When he failed, the case was given over to the Admiral, the French ships opened fire, and in less than an hour the Chinese fleet, with the exception of one ship, was destroyed and over 3,000 Chinese killed, and all without a declaration of war. The bodies of the dead floated out to sea on the tide, many of them were borne back on the returning current, and for days it was hardly possible to cross the river anywhere between the anchorage and the sea twenty miles below without seeing some of these dreadful reminders of French treachery and brutality. The people of the city were roused to fury, and the foreigners would have been attacked but for the presence of American and English

gunboats anchored off the settlement to protect them. If some of us had been killed the world would have rung with denunciation of Chinese cruelty, but the 3,000 victims of French guns would never have been thought of.

Two years ago the French perpetrated an equally atrocious outrage at Shanghai. Wishing to enlarge their settlement, they desired to obtain possession of a large rest house for the dead which belonged to the people of Ningpo. Failing in negotiations, the French Consul proceeded to tear down the surrounding walls. The people opposed; marines were landed from a French cruiser in the river; they fired on the crowd and killed twenty. The people of other nationalities at Shanghai prepared to defend themselves, but they all knew that any riots, if riots occurred, should be laid to the injustice and brutality of France.

The burning down of villages in Shan-tung by the Germans, to which I have already referred, was an act of the same character.

All these instances of the cruel use of force by foreigners were heralded far and wide by the Chinese newspapers, and the impression made on the people it is not hard to imagine. These papers have also made the reading public aware of the deprivations of territory recently suffered by China, and of the cool discussions of the dismemberment of the Empire indulged in by the foreign press. No wonder the people were humiliated and angry. Many a time have I been asked by thoughtful and patriotic Chinese when the end would come and China cease to be an independent State. All her finest harbors have already been taken; there is not a place on her coast where her fleet can rendezvous, except by the grace of foreigners. Port Arthur, a fortified harbor, on which millions were spent, has been leased to Russia; Wei-Hai-Wei, with its fortifications, on the coast of Shan-tung, to England; Kiao Chow, also in Shan-tung, with the finest bay on the coast of China, large enough to accommodate the fleets of the world, to Germany; and Kwang-Chau bay, on the southern coast of Kwang-tung, to France. There would be some justification for these seizures—for seizures they are, though called only "leases"—if they had been made in retaliation for broken pledges, for crimes for which the government was responsible; but every one knows that, with the apparent exception of Kiao Chow, and the exception is apparent only, they are all due to the mutual fears and mutual jealousies of foreign States. The sovereignty of China over her

own domain is not recognized; he who is strong enough may take what he pleases, and his neighbor, lest the balance of power be broken, may go and do the same. That under such circumstances the wrath of the people is aroused is no matter for wonder. The West cannot sow the wind in the East without having later to meet the terrible necessity of reaping the whirlwind.

I have tried to give a fair analysis of the causes of the anti-foreign feeling which prevails in China. It is not complete; there are other causes which might be mentioned. But I have given those which are most important, those which concern us most. It must be evident, I think, after studying them, that the antagonism of Chinese to foreigners is not altogether groundless; that foreigners themselves have had a large share in creating it. I trust that when the present fierce uprising is put down, when peace is restored to the distracted Empire, and the time for the settlement of claims has come, this painful fact will not be forgotten.

GEORGE B. SMYTH.

THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM IN CHINA.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

SIGNS are not wanting that we are on the eve of another political convulsion in China, a violent reaction from the masterly and masterful intervention of the Dowager-Empress. The forces which have been swaying China this way and that for the last generation are still actively at work; while time is surely if slowly wearing away the barrier which has kept the flowing tide in check.

Many writers, in a glow of controversial zeal, were led to represent the palace revolution as the visible evidence of an occult struggle between Russia and England for the sovereignty of the Far East; and, considering the forced retirement of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu a victory for the Russian party, they confidently predicted a speedy countercheck from Great Britain, and exulted over it in advance as a victory for progress, enterprise and a higher phase of civilization.

In reality, the revolution in Pekin had nothing whatever to do with either Russia or England. It happened that one of the chiefs on the side of the Dowager-Empress, the venerable Li Hung Chang, was a firm friend of Russia, and this gave color to the partisan view; but it might just as well have been the other way. The watershed of the Chinese movement, so to speak, is a question of internal policy alone.

There are, in fact, two parties in China, one extremely radical and the other extremely conservative. The former is the party of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu; the latter is the party of the Dowager-Empress Tshu-Chsi. The Conservatives, under the lead of this remarkable woman, aspire to keep China as far as possible a forbidden land, a second Tibet, governed on traditional and theocratic lines. The Radicals, on the other hand, desire to see

China follow the lead of Japan, and put on the whole armor of civilization, as we understand it in Europe and America.

But the Conservatives are in sympathy with Russia only to a very limited extent; it is, with them, a sympathy of tradition rather than of policy, for the relations between Russia and China go back to the Middle Ages. They regard Russia as a friendly Asiatic despotism, and hardly as a European country at all.

The Radicals, on the other hand, have no particular sympathy with England. It is, indeed, one of the elements of their policy to foster closer relations with Japan, in order that China and Japan together may be able to stand independently as a great Asiatic power, throwing off the yoke of European, and especially of English, interference.

In truth, the questions which divide these two parties in China are much more serious and profound than one would be led to believe from reading the accounts of the critics and chroniclers of our press. They have a way of leaping to conclusions, which shows a great deal of courage, it is true, but, on the other hand, a great ignorance of the Oriental world, and of the thoughts and feelings of Oriental peoples.

It is taken as axiomatic, for example, that a theocratic government is something wholly out of place in the modern world; an exploded superstition of a by-gone age; something quite out of keeping with modern ideas and modern life. But Germany, and indeed every monarchical country, is in principle a theocracy; for the kingship is founded on divine right; and the fact that the coronation is a religious ceremony shows that the divine sanction is still conceived as authorizing the Emperor to rule. Russia, where the Emperor himself sets the crown upon his head, is even more directly theocratic; the ruler draws his right direct from heaven, without the interposition of the Church. But every monarchy is in principle a theocracy, just as every aristocracy admits the principle of ancestor-worship.

So that there is nothing essentially incompatible with Western ideas in even the extreme ideals of the Chinese Conservatives. And, as far as they believe in adhering to the traditional and native forms of Chinese life, and, incidentally, of Chinese arts and handicrafts, there is much to be said for them, too; for these are the forms of life which they have developed for themselves during generations, and even now their arts and crafts are in

many things so superior to ours that we buy as ornaments things which they destined simply for common use. In Europe the very latest ideal in arts and crafts is the introduction of the personal and creative element in all workmanship as against machinery. But this was the ideal of China and Japan from the outset. Every Japanese and Chinese artisan is an artist, and in this they are a century ahead of their Western critics.

So that one may easily make out a very strong general case for the Conservatives in China. And, when this has been done, it becomes doubly interesting to apply the same process in detail, and to inquire what precisely were the innovations which the Emperor Kuang-Hsu sought to introduce, and why this attempt was so completely frustrated.

First, a word about the Emperor himself. Kuang-Hsu is an imperial title, meaning "Enduring Majesty;" the prince's personal name is Teai-Tsien. He is only twenty-seven years old, though he has borne the title of Emperor ever since the death of his cousin, the Emperor Chai-Chin, five and twenty years ago, and has been sole responsible ruler, in theory at least, for the last nine years. The Emperor Kuang-Hsu is slight and delicate, almost childish in appearance, of pale olive complexion, and with great, melancholy eyes. There is a gentleness in his expression that speaks rather of dreaming than of the power to turn dreams into acts. It is strange to find a personality so ethereal among the descendants of the Mongol hordes; yet the Emperor Kuang-Hsu might sit as a model for some Oriental saint on the threshold of the highest beatitude. Though it is eleven years since his marriage with Princess Eho-na-la, the Emperor is childless.

It is not so long since the nobles of our most civilized Western lands counted it a vice to write well, and slept on rushes in their torch-lit, wooden halls. Their ideals were war and hunting, with bows and arrows, for the most part, with legalized plundering of the agricultural population to renew their supplies of bread. In those days China was far more civilized than any European country; and, in the life of the Chinese Empire, that period is only as yesterday. The two things which have done most to change the relative positions of East and West are gunpowder and printing, yet both of these have been known in China for ages. So that any inherent superiority on the part of the West is rather a pleasing fiction; much might be said in the contrary sense. The

West is superior in combative and destructive elements—the very things which the religion of the West has been trying to eradicate for two thousand years; so that, even from a Western point of view, Europe's material victory is a moral defeat.

Yet it is none the less true that China has been overshadowed and left behind by the Western nations, and the recognition of this fact is the starting point of the Emperor's policy.

He conceives the remedy to be an infusion of new life into the education of the people; a supersession of the wonderful system of intellectual training, perfected centuries ago, which forms all minds alike on the great Chinese Classics, "the best that has been thought and said" in the Celestial Land. It is the battle of utility against culture fought out once more on Chinese lines. Chemistry and physics, engineering and military science are to take the place of essays and poems exquisitely fashioned after ancient models, now the sole test of talent throughout the Empire, and perfection in which is the royal road to fame and fortune.

It is hard to tell which we should most admire, the genuine enthusiasm of all China for literary culture, for familiarity with the highest thoughts and noblest words of the sages, or the marvellous ingenuity and precision with which this knowledge is tested by a system of examinations hardly equalled, and never surpassed, by any nation in the world—the vast halls, with their cloister-like divisions for ten thousand candidates; the seals set on the doors before the papers are given out; the counted sheets of stamped paper with name and number for the essays and poems of each candidate; the army of clerks copying the themes in red ink, lest any personal sign or mark should lead the examiner to recognize a favored pupil; the enthusiastic crowds gathering at the doors; the cannons and music which greet the candidates first to come forth; the literary chancellor ceremoniously presiding; the lists of the successful eagerly bought up in the streets; the chosen essays and poems sent to Court for the delectation of the Emperor; the gold-buttoned caps and blue silk gowns of the graduates; and, lastly, the almost pathetic provision that whoever continues without success to try for any degree until his eightieth year shall receive it free, from the Emperor himself, as a reward for faithful love of learning.

By the way, we should keep some of our admiration for the

more than human ingenuity with which the Chinese students sometimes evade even the strictest precautions: the tunnels dug beneath the examination halls, through which surreptitious knowledge is passed up to the candidates, written minutely on the finest paper; the offices where needy and brilliant essayists are hired to personate dull, wealthy scholars; the refinement of knavery that decrees that, while the rank of the examination to be compounded for rises in arithmetical progression, the bribe increases in geometrical ratio. All this but shows, by crooked ways, how highly learning is esteemed.

Yet all this, while it reminds us how foolish we are to think of Chinamen as uncivilized, is not enough to win the battles of the world. Therefore, the Emperor Kuang-Hsu deemed it necessary to decree reform and the introduction of the utilitarian spirit. Pekin is to have a University, as a rallying point for the modern spirit; and here a characteristic note of Chinese radicalism is struck; for the methods and standards of this first Chinese University are to be taken not directly from Europe, but mediately through Japan. It is conceived that Western ideals will then have undergone a process of partial assimilation and amelioration, making them more immediately suitable for the Chinese mind. In other words, it is held that the Japanese have already improved the culture they received from Europe, and that the Chinese, following in their steps, will improve it still further.

This drawing together of China and Japan is one of the keynotes of the radical programme of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu. "China and Japan," says a recent edict, "have a common language, they belong to the same race, they have all interests in common."

So a band of students are to set out from the Celestial Empire to the Flowery Land, as guests of the Japanese nation, there to absorb the light which they are presently to radiate, as teachers, in their own land. Two hundred are to go, as a beginning, and they are already being chosen among those who have some knowledge of Japanese. And before they return, if Kuang-Hsu's programme is carried out, Pekin will have, besides her University, a whole system of primary and intermediate schools, and this system, modelled on the best Western plans, will gradually be extended to every considerable city of the Empire.

The University of Tokio, which is held to be the high-water

mark of blended European and Japanese culture, is to serve as the model for the Pekin institution, and temporary quarters have been assigned to the teachers in the princely palaces of the capital, pending the erection of suitable University buildings. Meanwhile, the sum originally allotted to the Committee on Education has been increased threefold, by a special Imperial edict, and the sum set aside for the maintenance of the committee has been doubled.

The thoroughly practical spirit pervading this new educational movement in China is shown in an Imperial order recently dispatched to the coast provinces: the Viceroys, Governors, Prefects and District Magistrates—the four chief degrees in the executive hierarchy—are directed to furnish the Emperor with precise information as to possible means of increasing the naval schools and supplying new training-ships for the fleet. A further very practical move is the formation of a Committee on Railroads and Engineering, with orders to draft plans for the opening of schools of railroad engineering at a number of central points through the Empire, from which, it is hoped, railroads will soon radiate to every considerable town, and through all the provinces.

Close on the heels of this follows another Committee on Agriculture, Manufactures and Trade. To the President and Vice-President of this committee are specifically reserved the right of free access to the Emperor at all times, on the business of their departments; and when we remember the divinity that hedges in the Son of Heaven we shall better understand how much he is in earnest, and how clearly he shows it by sacrificing his ceremonial prerogatives. A School of Agriculture is to be formed, with branches in each district of every province of the Empire, and these branch schools are to procure the latest agricultural machinery, and to exhibit its advantages to the mass of cultivators in the rural districts. It is hoped that a decade will not pass before the whole agriculture of China is transformed by the use of tilling and harvesting machines.

Another innovation, which seems to have been borrowed from India, was suggested by last year's famine in the three provinces of Hu-pé, Shan-Si and Shan-tung, all not very far from the capital. The Emperor had discovered that the system of distributing free rations among the starving populations was not a success—or, perhaps we should say, the system of allotting considerable sums to that end. For there is the old tale of peculation and dis-

honest officials, a Chinese version of the charges more than once brought against the American Government in its relations with the Red Indians. The Emperor proposes to adopt the British Indian expedient of relief-works, and further intends to improve the occasion by employing the men at these works in the various new industries which he is seeking to introduce throughout the provinces. This would include the building of railroads, the establishment of agricultural machinery, the extension of irrigation and the introduction of new manufactures. So that a famine will come as a blessing in disguise.

Another very important reform touches the procedure in civil cases. It is said that the Chinese courts have a bad eminence in civil law's delays, keeping a good fat process on the files for months and years, and even decades, to the end that many bribes may be taken; and after a judge has taken many bribes from both sides it becomes very embarrassing to decide the case at all. The traditional solution in India is to put the final decision up to auction. Before we pass too heavy a sentence on this form of corruption and brand it as the mark of an inferior race, we should remember that Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, whom Shelley wrongly called "Lord Bacon," and whom Mr. Gladstone even more wrongly called "Francis, Lord Bacon," was degraded for selling the decisions of the highest court in the England of his day. Experience makes it probable that this reform will be one of the hardest to enforce, since its success depends largely on the good-will of the very judges to be reformed.

Yet another measure shows a daring spirit of innovation: the foundation of a new Medical College at Pekin, for the express purpose of introducing the methods of modern Europe. A license for this College has already been granted; but it has dark days before it, for it strikes a blow at vested interests of the most extensive character, founded on most venerable traditions. It is as though the Federal Government were to organize and endow a College for Mental Healing. One could predict stormy days for it, whatever opinion one held as to the Efficacy of Faith. It is true that Kuang-Hsu throws a sop to Cerberus by including in the course the traditional medical practice of China side by side with the new methods of the West. But it seems to me that this is a false move; for what battles there may be between the rival professors! Homeopathy and allopathy will be nothing to it.

But the next reform on the Emperor's list admits of no healing balm. It is a decree for the suspension of the famous Six Boards, a series of venerable sinecures, supposed to look after the education of the heir apparent, the royal stables, the due performance of bowings and kneelings, the imperial banquets, and so forth. Every European Court has half a dozen departments equally ornamental. These interesting survivals—and the salaries—are to become a thing of the past, their nominal duties are to be passed on to Committees of the Senate, and the buildings they occupied are to be turned over to the new Medical College and the Pekin University.

From a tactical point of view, this seems the Emperor's first grave mistake, for it sets the whole of the permanent Civil Service against the reform programme. Like many another bringer of glad tidings, his course might have been smoother if he could only have been persuaded to leave the Scribes and Pharisees alone. And the whole army of bureaucrats and lesser officials has evidently taken alarm, for we find a recent edict of the Emperor speaking in the following terms:

"The Government of the Chinese Empire, striving to elevate the various departments of the administration, and with the sole design of conferring benefits on the people, wishes to employ to this end the methods of the nations of the West, since what is common to the Western nations and the Chinese, has been brought to greater excellence by the former, and may, therefore, serve for our advancement.

"At the same time, the bureaucrats and scholars of this Empire, whose views of foreign nations are characterized by the greatest ignorance, pretend that Western nations are totally devoid of order and enlightenment, not knowing that among the Western nations there are many forms of political science which have as their sole aim the moral elevation of the people, and their material well-being, and which, from their high development, are able to heap benefits on mankind, and to prolong the span of human life. In the West, all efforts are directed to procuring the blessings which mankind is entitled to.

"In our ceaseless efforts to reform various departments of the administration, we are by no means prompted by a mere desire for novelty, but by a sincere aspiration for the well-being of the Empire entrusted to us by Providence, and handed down to us by our ancestors. We shall not have fulfilled our duty, if we fail to secure to all our people, the blessings of peace and prosperity.

"And we are not less grieved at the slights which China has had to submit to, at the hands of foreign governments. But so long as we do not possess the knowledge and science of other peoples, we shall not be able to defend ourselves against them.

"At the same time, our subjects evidently fail to understand the

true purpose of our unsleeping endeavors and exertions. The reason of this is that the lower classes of officials and the bureaucrats devoted to routine [the Scribes and Pharisees] not only do not make our intentions clear, but on the contrary, intentionally confuse the people with vain and unseemly speeches. Grieved and vexed that a true understanding of our intentions has not reached our subjects, we inform all China, by the present decree, of the true purpose of our doings. This is in order that our enlightened intentions may be known to the whole people, and that the people may know that trust is to be reposed in their Ruler, who, with the help of all, will mould the Government according to new principles, for the strengthening and elevation of the Chinese Empire.

"To this end we order the Viceroys and Governors to print these our decrees, and to exhibit them on notice-boards, and we order the Prefects and District Magistrates, and all school masters, to explain these decrees to the people. And likewise, we command the Treasurers, Provincial Judges, District Inspectors, Prefects, heads of districts and sub-districts, to lay before us, without fear, statements of their views on all imperial questions. And these statements are to be forwarded to us sealed, and must on no account be kept back by Viceroys and Governors. Finally, we order the present decree to be exhibited in a prominent place, in the offices of all Viceroys and Governors."

This is a most important document, and the key to much that will happen in the natural course of events in the Chinese Empire during the next few years. It is the personal confession of faith of the despotic Ruler of four hundred millions, more than a quarter of the whole human race. To carry out a programme like this Kuang-Hsu had need to be endowed with an uncommonly strong will, and, further, with unerring insight into the character of his helpers. Very much of future history depends on his possession of these two gifts.

Another projected reform is intended to cut at the root of what is certainly the greatest evil in the system of Chinese Government —the malversation of the revenues, made possible by the very loose system of accounts in vogue in the Treasury Department. An autocrat has been defined as one whose budget is not audited; if this be so, the Chinese Empire is suffering from an epidemic of autocrats. This time the trouble lies not so much with the Scribes and Pharisees, as with their friends, the Publicans and Sinners—the farmers of taxes, who bid so much for the right to extort what they can from a long-suffering public. The result of this malversation is such that while the taxable capacity of China is simply enormous, the system of peculation is so thorough and so much sticks to the fingers of the collectors that the Government is almost chronically bankrupt. The estimated revenue of the

Chinese Empire amounts to about twenty cents a year for each inhabitant. This is about one-fiftieth of the rate for most European countries, and less than one-hundredth of that of some. So that if the revenues of China were raised to about the same level per head as, say, those of Belgium or Austria-Hungary, China would have a sum of from four to eight thousand million dollars a year to apply to imperial and administrative purposes. And should the innovations contemplated by Kuang-Hsu really be introduced, there is not the faintest doubt that China could bear as heavy taxes as Belgium or Austria-Hungary, and in that case what a formidable vista is opened up in the direction of allotments for the Chinese Army and Navy to be turned out of the new and modernized schools. Further, what sums could be spent on bounties to enable any and every manufacture to compete with European rival products, not only in China, but in all the markets of the world. The open door is one of those beautiful rules that may work both ways. Supposing the door should be found to open outwards as well as inwards, and supposing the first thing to come forth were a flood of subsidized screw-nails, sufficient to drive Mr. Chamberlain out of the market, would there not be a sort of poetic justice in that?

As far as the revenue is concerned, Kuang-Hsu's avowed purpose does not go beyond a stricter system of accounts, a stoppage of some of the innumerable leaks in the aqueducts which deprive the imperial reservoirs of their supplies. But even a slight measure of success in this direction will raise the revenue of China to a formidable amount, and, further, would increase her borrowing power practically without limit.

And here we approach a very important matter from an international standpoint. To carry out these schemes requires an army of trained and honest administrators; it also requires considerable material resources to keep things going while the changes are being introduced. But, while there are doubtless many strong and honest men in China, the Emperor does not seem as yet to have laid his hand on them; and, as an alternative, he suggests, or adopts the suggestion of, a very remarkable measure. It is nothing less than an appeal to Japan to lend China a band of trained administrators, such as England has lent to Egypt and India. Only, in the case of China, the initiative comes from the borrower, not from the lender. And in the light of this idea the recent

Japanese mission to Pekin, under Marquis Ito, acquires a new significance.

An excellent statement of this side of the question appeared in a recent number of one of the Pekin radical papers. It is worth quoting at some length.

The writer begins by citing instances from the early history of China, and the story of Peter the Great, to show that reforms may best be carried out by foreign agents. He then urges the Emperor to seek the assistance of Marquis Ito in the task of regenerating China, asserting that only by a Japanese alliance can China take a firm attitude toward foreign powers and keep back the horrors of a general war. He continues:

"If Your Majesty could only persuade Marquis Ito to become confidential adviser of China, the reforms which you have undertaken would be promptly carried out, and the international bond between China and Japan would be greatly reinforced; while without Japan's help, the early realization of these reforms is impossible. Even granting that, among the Chinese who have recently entered the arena of public life, a few may be found endowed with the necessary strength of will, they are certain to meet with numberless hindrances, caused by the envy and fear of the enemies of progress. They will spend their energies and lose their reputations in vain efforts, and the ills of the body politic will remain uncured. On the other hand, Marquis Ito, as the experienced minister of a foreign government, who possesses Your Majesty's fullest confidence, and who is well known to fame, could have nothing to fear from intrigues in the task of introducing reforms. And foreign powers, in their international relations with China, would begin to treat our country in a very different manner. Their schemes of aggrandizement at our expense would instantly relax, and this would be the beginning of the transformation of China from a poor and weak country, surrounded with dangers, into a land full of wealth and strength, and rejoicing in the blessings of assured peace. This is the first reason why we must borrow talent from other nations.

"The fundamental principles of Chinese policy are isolation and separation, whilst among Western nations the principles of government are the very opposite of these, namely, intercourse and union; principles which serve to bring about the development of moral and material resources, while isolation and exclusion lead to the very opposite result. To these two principles, intercourse and union, the nations of the West are indebted for their greatness and civilization.

"From the geographical point of view, nations inhabiting the same continent should first unite among themselves. From the point of view of race and language, it is best for kindred peoples to be joined. The peoples of Europe and America do not inhabit the same continent as ourselves; they belong to another race, and speak other tongues. Therefore, in view of these natural obstacles, they cannot be closely united with China. It is quite otherwise with Japan. Although, carried away by her extremely rapid progress, and

that unexpected development which roused the apprehensions of both Europe and America, Japan made war on China, yet, when confronted by Russia, Japan was helpless. It is true that, in order to counterbalance Russia, Japan is making friends with England; but experienced men of affairs are convinced that war between them cannot be averted in the future. Whichever side wins, there will be great changes in the balance of power in Asia. England approached Japan solely because of Russia; England is foreign to us in race; she is foreign to us therefore in spirit also. What if England, whose sole motive is profit, should find it profitable to change sides and enter into an alliance with Russia? Then Japan, standing alone, would certainly perish. Therefore Japan's natural ally is China. If the Celestial Empire, with its vast natural resources, its huge area, its enormous population, should really enter into an alliance with Japan, borrowing from Japan new methods for the development of China's resources, and for the education of competent men, then Japan and China together, in firm union and alliance, could easily withstand either Russia or England, and assure a general peace. This would secure the integrity of the Chinese Emperor's hereditary dominions, and put an end to foreign encroachment. The designs of foreign nations can only be withstood by the material might of China, acting under the moral and intellectual guidance of Japan. Russia cherishes designs of encroachment on the north; as regards England, which is striving to maintain peace and gain its own ends, its demands make Russian policy necessary, but in reality England's designs are wholly commercial and selfish. If an alliance existed between China and Japan, Russia could doubtless carry out her design of a Congress in the interests of universal peace, and could enter into enduring and peaceable relations with the other nations of Europe. This is not only very desirable for China and Japan, but it is an object worthy of the sincere aspiration of the whole human race."

At this point a temporary stop was put to the Chinese dream of regeneration by the interposition of the Conservative party, under the leadership of the Dowager-Empress Tshu-Chsi. This very remarkable woman is the widow of the Emperor I-Tshu, and was co-ruler with the Emperor Chai-Chun from 1861 to 1875, when Kuang-Hsu nominally ascended the throne, being then three years old. . As a result of her interposition, the *Imperial Gazette* announced, as we all remember, that the Emperor found it impossible to deal unaided with the vast mass of administrative affairs in the present critical condition of the Empire, "and requested Her Majesty, the Dowager-Empress, who had twice directed the affairs of China with marked success, to lend him her guidance in the conduct of imperial business." Then came three edicts: First, the quite credible announcement that the young Emperor "was very sick;" then, that several reforms were postponed, the famous Six Boards being reinstated; and, lastly, a

series of vigorous measures directed against the young Emperor's advisers. Finally it was declared that, as of yore, the Empire would be governed according to the principles of the sage Confucius.

One of the principles of this sage is obedience to parents; and we must take into account the enormous moral weight this obligation has in China before too hastily accusing the young Emperor of cowardice and supineness. But time is on his side.

It is always a delicate matter to speak of a lady's age, especially if that lady be an Empress; but the masterful Dowager is not far from the patriarchal three score years and ten, while her right-hand man, the hardly less masterful Li Hung Chang, is seventy-five. These two are certainly among the twenty most considerable personalities in the world at this moment, a sufficient evidence that the Chinese race is not effete. But mortality will claim its own, and then will come the turn of young Kuang-Hsu. If it comes even four or five years hence, he will be only about thirty, and his character will have matured in the meantime. I have quoted two Chinese documents at length, in order to show that, if we are counting on the moral and intellectual inferiority of the Chinese, we are suffering from a dangerous illusion. Therefore the success of the young Emperor's plans is quite a probable event; and that success will mean a huge revenue for China; a vast army and fleet on the most modern models, with skilled officers, probably Japanese; a quite unlimited power to subsidize Chinese manufacture against all the world's competition, with a working class of hundreds of millions ready to accept marvellously low wages and quick to master the cheapest and best methods. In a word, it would mean the possible swamping of Western lands, in a military as well as a commercial sense. So that the policy of the door which may open outwards is about the most dangerous for the West that could well be conceived.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

BY POULTNEY BIGELOW.

THE two most interesting missionaries in China, on the occasion of my first visit, were Professor Wells Williams, who subsequently enriched Yale University by accepting a professorship there, and Father Palladius, an Archimandrite of the Greek Church who had charge of the Russian mission at Pekin. Williams's book on China is still standard authority, and the contributions of Palladius to his government are no less important, though unfortunately they are accessible only to those who read either Russian or German. Both men are now dead, but they represent, each in his sphere, two different sets of ideas in the missionary field.

When I first met him, the Greek Archimandrite had been forty years in Pekin, and had never been anywhere else, excepting for two caravan journeys to Russia. He was an elderly gentleman, with a smile like Benjamin Franklin's, and was famed at the Chinese capital for keeping the best wines and the best tobacco. He was a bachelor, and to-day I recall him when I try to fancy Epicurus in the body. He wore the Chinese pigtail and clothes to match, and people said he could give Chinese mandarins points on etiquette. He gave me, at least, many happy hours, for he talked with a frankness and facility rarely united in a Russian, least of all an Archimandrite. One day, for instance, I asked him bluntly how many converts he had made. He answered that he thought he had made one, but he did not wish to be taken as stating this positively. When I returned to China after an interval of twenty-one years, all my inquiries led me to respect the honesty of this Russian. He said, furthermore: "I have been here forty years, and perhaps I have converted one Chinaman. When missionaries tell you that they have done more than that, do not believe them."

Father Palladius seemed to me not merely an epicure, but a trifle cynical in the things of his own profession. He seemed devoid of that happy enthusiasm which enables some people to delight in illusion. For instance, the present Admiral Holland told me he had a boatswain who was a noble Christian Chinaman. That Christian boatswain was quoted in missionary circles all about Hong Kong and up the Yangtsze River. The mouth of the scoffer was closed by that one convert for many months. The authority exercised by Admiral Holland over the mind of every white man, both merchant and missionary, was such that from Singapore to Hakodadi the work of evangelization received a perceptible boom through this one alleged convert. Every missionary in China owed him a handsome present—at least for a time. But Admiral Holland has returned to England, and the Chinese boatswain has turned out to be no more Christian than the sacred tooth of Buddha.

It is dreadfully baffling to ask questions about missionaries from one end of China to another, and then try to form any coherent conclusions. One might almost as well invite opinions about the Jews as a class. And, strange to say, this divergence of opinion is to be found exactly amongst those whose long residence amongst the Chinese entitles them to be regarded as respectable witnesses. To get thoroughly warmed up in the cause of converting John Chinaman, one must go to Temple Hill, near Chefoo, and talk with Dr. Corbett. He has worked in China almost as long as had Father Palladius when I first knew him. Dr. Corbett is a splendid type of American, dressed exactly as though in his native New England. He wears a long beard, looks about six feet in height, and his eyes sparkle with humor. His wife has been trained in the hospital service and helps him on the medical side of his mission. He welcomed me to a home equipped for family happiness on the Anglo-American plan, not the least important item being the prattle of his children. One must have been alone in China to understand the gratitude of a white man unexpectedly rescued from the depressing surroundings of Chinese travel, and permitted to sit down in a homelike family circle. Dr. Corbett told me that China was being rapidly prepared for a grand Christian awakening; that he and his colleagues had made a large number of converts, but that there were still more who were restrained from avowing their faith because

they feared evil consequences from a social and political point of view. This was told me in the autumn of 1898, and I had heard the same thing at the same place in 1876. Now, Dr. Corbett is a practical worker and had cultivated this field for thirty-six years. He assured me that in that time he had noticed a great improvement in Shantung; that the natives had laid aside much of the hostility which they formerly showed toward strangers. For instance, in his early days such was the hatred of the foreigner that inn-keepers barred their gates when they saw a white man approaching. "To secure a night's lodging," said Dr. Corbett, "I would have to send my baggage and servants ahead, and only appear myself when these had been installed and my room practically engaged."

It is not often that we find the Chinaman outwitted by the white man, least of all by the missionary. "Now," said Dr. Corbett, "I travel up and down Shantung, visiting our different stations, and am received like any other traveller."

He took me over the schools of the mission, and enlarged with satisfaction upon the numbers who went forth to spread the light of the white man's civilization, if not Bible doctrine. Dr. Corbett believes that the Chinese who come to him do so from a pure love of religion. For my own part, I am inclined to think that Dr. Corbett's success is due mainly to his own persuasive personality; to his thorough knowledge of Chinese custom; and, above all, to the fact that in his schools the alleged converts receive an education which is of great practical value to them as merchants or mechanics. It is impossible to suppose that any Chinaman, after receiving the material benefits conferred by the missionary school, should go back to his fellows unmodified. A course in mechanics, arithmetic, history and philosophy, coupled with some practical demonstrations in the field of chemistry, must leave its impression on the mind even of a Celestial. But those who know the devious mind of that strange yellow creature consider him capable of pretending Christianity to the missionaries just as long as he can draw a profit therefrom.

At Chefoo, I had the pleasure of meeting several Protestant missionaries, amongst them Miss Downing, whom I had known in the same place and at the same work twenty-two years before. There are about a hundred and sixty American missionaries in Shantung, and to judge by those at Chefoo, their work is earnest

and animated by an enthusiastic belief in the ultimate evangelization of China. One afternoon I was invited to address a prayer-meeting, where a large roomful of English and American missionaries of both sexes were gathered together, a few in Chinese garb. I felt horribly out of place; but yet I was enormously impressed by the courage and devotion to a lofty ideal stamped upon the faces about me. There are all sorts of missionaries in China, and of them all those typified by Dr. Corbett have the most spiritual vitality. His is the religion of the Puritan who preaches the Saviour crucified, and moves the human heart by truth and truth alone. The men of his mission will preach to Chinamen as to a New England audience, or as our Saviour preached by the Sea of Galilee. A blessing goes with such brave efforts, whether the reward be success or death at the hands of a Chinese mob.

My old friend Palladius called the American missionaries at Chefoo enthusiastic babies. My American friends regarded the Russian Archimandrite as a cynical fox.

Of course, I visited the Jesuit mission at Zickawei to see what changes a quarter of a century had wrought in that place. There were some new faces, but the spirit was unchanged. Chinese orphans, or rather foundlings, were being brought up to useful trades in this vast, missionary machine shop. Beautiful altar-pieces, representing Christian saints, were being chiselled by Chinese boys, who would probably soon be burning Joss-sticks to their favorite idols. The good Father pointed out some charred remains of church furniture, and told me the story of how the Chinese mob had set fire to their church, after killing and maiming some of the congregation. In China one becomes accustomed to this chronicle of murder, which is a symptom of the chronic war between mandarin and missionary. I have forgotten the name of the place where this particular massacre happened, nor can I remember the dozens like it. It would surprise the abstract Chinaman, however, to learn that these fragments of charred saints, so far from discouraging further missionary effort, only heighten the zeal of those volunteering for a like risk.

The Jesuit fathers were mainly French, though I had chats with one or two from Bavaria and the Rhine. They wore the Chinese queue and long robes, such as the local men of learning affect. The Jesuits have from the very beginning of their missionary efforts adopted the policy of beating the Chinaman on his

own ground; challenging his respect by a show of learning, not merely in the sciences of Europe, but also in the classics of Confucius. Dr. Corbett, on the contrary, and with him most Evangelical workers, are opposed to imitating the Chinese in their dress or in anything which implies a lowering of the missionary to their level. The Bible Christian will make no pact with heathen philosophy, whereas the disciple of Loyola will conclude any bargain by which he may gain ever so small an advance upon the enemy.

On the occasion of my first visit to Zickawei, I was in company with the French minister at Pekin, and the priests entertained us with food and wine which rivalled those of Father Palladius. Standing at the window, I looked out upon a flat landscape emphasized by a small elevation on the horizon. I asked the priest what that was. He answered that it was the shrine of a saint, and that the Chinese Christians made pilgrimages thither once a year. When I pressed him to tell how he managed to get Christian saints at this place, he shrugged his shoulders, smiled pleasantly, and remarked that, as the Chinese enjoyed gatherings and gongs and banners and such tom-foolery, the missionaries had been compelled to create this pilgrimage or discourage Christianity. Hence this shrine.

In the courtyard he showed me a beautiful statue of the Virgin Mary, with two Chinese in native garb kneeling below. The Virgin was not in Chinese dress, but I suppose that will come in time.

This missionary institution has a school of architecture, where designs are made for Catholic buildings throughout China. Large numbers of books are printed here, all the work being done by Chinese foundlings, under the superintendence of the white priests. Wood-cutting and lithography are taught, also printing in color. Some lurid posters were shown to me, which were destined to hang up in Chinese Christian chapels. Their purpose was to discourage the bad Chinamen and stimulate the good ones. One poster represented the death-bed of the bad Chinaman, whose wickedness was attested by the opium pipe and the gaming dice at his bedside. A black devil, with horns, tail and wings, had fastened an iron collar around his neck, to which was linked a long iron chain. Dragons were rising from a hole in the ground, likewise monstrous flames. The black devil was pro-

ceeding to drag the screaming and resisting wicked Chinaman to the flaming hole in the floor, while his wife and children looked on in distress. At the top of the picture was seated our Saviour, with Chinese slippers on his feet, and an expression on his face that was enough like that of a mandarin to please the average convert. Some angels with Chinese slippers were flitting about, chasing devils.

The pendant to this was the death of a good Chinaman, where the devil looked very much discouraged as he disappeared down a flaming trapdoor in the foreground. An angel in Chinese slippers was watching by the bedside, and above was represented a Chinaman in full official dress, kneeling on clouds before some Christian figures, whom I took to represent Saint Joseph, the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour.

Two of these pious posters were devoted respectively to Heaven and Hell. To a Chinaman, Hell is a pretty simple conception, which is refreshed every day in his daily walks about his native town, and whenever a criminal court is in session. The hell-poster, therefore, merely outdid Dante in the matter of snakes and devils tormenting wretches already crazy with suffering. The poster of Heaven was more subtle. There was a choir of slanting-eyed angels, beating gongs, tom-toms and many other instruments vaguely hinted at. In the background were enthroned the Creator and our Saviour, though the chief object of adoration appeared to be the Virgin Mary. In the foreground were a dozen or so happy faces of saints, amongst which were emperors, kings, popes, bishops, and—more conspicuous than any—two Chinamen. For the sake of local prejudice, the women were bunched separate from the men.

These posters were doing duty in 1876 and are so popular to-day that they are constantly reproduced at the mission.

The foundlings I saw were mostly scrofulous. Father Beck, a Bavarian, told me this was a common complaint all over China.

The Jesuits were the pioneer missionaries in China, and to-day do a great work. But now, as then, their success lies not in preaching things spiritual, so much as in demonstrating the power of the white man as compared to the yellow. Every sailor-man in the Far East has gratitude toward the Jesuits of Zickawei, because they tell him when to expect bad weather. The Fathers have a well-equipped observatory connected by wire with many

stations in the Eastern Seas, and thus they can foretell the arrival of typhoons. It is a Jesuit priest who observes the sun, and at exactly twelve o'clock touches an electric button to move the time-ball by which Shanghai Harbor corrects her ships' chronometers.

I was shown a transit instrument made in New York, and a full line of reports of the Smithsonian Institute, the United States Weather Bureau, and other scientific bodies. On the walls were portraits of famous Jesuit missionaries, amongst them Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest, all in the gaudy dress of Chinese grandees. In the adjoining room a Chinese convert was working out typhoon probabilities, while in the yard below sore-headed foundlings were playing about the feet of the Virgin Mary. It was a weird picture this—the co-operation of science and Roman Catholicism for the overthrow of Buddha and Confucius.

The Bavarian priest was a jolly man all round. Like his brethren, he had come here, under vows of poverty and celibacy, to spend his whole life in the service of people who wished him ill in his work. He talked merrily about the relative merits of Munich beer while expecting at any moment an order to proceed to a station where life was highly insecure.

The Jesuit has, of course, only contempt for evangelical methods. He regards the Chinaman as a creature essentially different from the white man, and consequently as one whose senses and emotions must be differently awakened. The idea of a Christian revival in China, on the plan of the Methodist camp-meeting, is regarded by him as absurd. He proposes not to revolutionize, but merely to modify what already exists. As the early Christian Church absorbed amongst the Romans many heathen names and customs, so, in China, the Jesuits, from the days of Ricci to our own, have sought, not so much to expel the local religions as to Romanize them, if not Christianize them. The Jesuit finds much that is admirable in Buddha and Confucius; nor does he deny the possibility of a Chinaman's being a valuable convert and yet burning Joss-sticks at the graves of his ancestors. The Jesuit tells the learned Chinaman that Confucius was practically a Christian so far as his moral philosophy is concerned, and that Buddhism has many good points; but that the Roman Catholic is the religion which embodies what is good in every system, with the additional advantage of having expelled what was idolatrous.

In the days of the early Jesuits this line of argument was fairly successful, but nowadays so strong has the feeling against foreigners become that the Chinaman is inclined to stick to his own gods merely because they are Chinese, and to distrust the gods of other nations merely because they are of the foreigner.

The American missionaries have the hardest time of any, because they are so much at the mercy of their Consul. Our Consul in the Far East represents to the American merchant and missionary the whole round of governmental functions, civil, military, and even ecclesiastical. Mr. Fowler, of Chefoo, told me that he was the only one out of eleven American Consuls in China who had been in that position more than a year. If a missionary wishes to make a will, to do any legal act, to obtain redress at law, the American Consul is his judge. If a missionary desires to marry, as often happens, he has to come to the Consulate. This is sometimes embarrassing, for missionaries are not rich, as a rule, and travelling in China is apt to be injurious to health, if not dangerous to personal safety. Imagine an American lady, perhaps a thousand miles from an American Consulate, compelled to travel under the horrible conditions prevailing in China in order to be declared legally married. We in America naturally ask, why another missionary, an ordained clergyman, could not marry them. United States law has, in China, at least, been construed in the manner most likely to swell the fees of the Consul.

The Rev. Dr. Sims, while I was in China, protested against being compelled to make long and dangerous journeys through China for matrimonial purposes. He stated that Dr. King, at Tai-an-foo, when engaged to Miss Knight of the same city, had been required to go to Chinkiang, under their protest, to be married. On their return up the Grand Canal, she took small-pox and died within one week after reaching home.

In another instance, equally well authenticated, the Rev. Dr. Royall and Miss Sullivan were married by a fellow-missionary, after having obtained the consent of the Consul-General at Shanghai. Some time after the marriage, however, this same Consul coolly informed them that he had been mistaken, and that they must come to the Consulate at Shanghai and go through the ceremony over again.

Please imagine the feelings of Miss Sullivan, thus charged by the highest legal tribunal with having lived with a man who was

not her husband! This so affected the young lady that her life at one time was deemed in danger.

The Rev. Mr. Blaylock and Miss Humphries, who were married at Tai-an-foo by a brother missionary before about eighteen English and American witnesses, were subsequently informed that they were illegally united, and must proceed to do the thing over again before our Consul in Shanghai. They did so at great cost and personal risk. In returning up the Grand Canal, so said the Rev. Dr. Sims, Mr. Blaylock was taken seriously ill, was kept a year in bed at Chin-an-foo, and managed to reach home with extreme difficulty. He is now in America, a physical wreck.

The Rev. Mr. Hudson had gone with his betrothed to Chin-kiang. On their return Mr. Hudson was attacked by robbers, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The history of evangelical mission-work in China is a painful chronicle of persecution, nobly sustained by a large body of devoted men and women frequently poorly equipped for their work, and always inadequately organized. If all Christian missionaries could unite under one head and proceed upon some coherent plan of operations, the result would no doubt be better. At present, the Chinese marvel at the lack of unity amongst Christians, particularly when a Catholic chapel opens its doors close to a Baptist meeting-house, and the ministers of each tell the Chinese that their particular faith only is efficacious.

The missionary has in China to combat a vast volume of inherited conceit and prejudice. He has to deal with Orientals conscious of a historic sequence longer than that of any white dynasty, full of triumphs in the domain of science, and rich in philosophy. The Chinese stood at the head of civilization when Europe was but a barbarous province. Hundreds of inventions are claimed by the Chinese at a period when the learning of Europe was monopolized by a handful of monks. The Chinaman despises the profession of arms, and so far he knows of Europe little beyond her power as manifested in a military manner. He shuns intercourse with the outer barbarian, for the customs of his ancestors are sacred in his eyes, and he considers the future of China bound up with devotion to the existing order of things. A highly cultivated missionary who can confer with learned Chinese scholars can do much to remove unfounded prejudice in the small circle of his acquaintance, and this I be-

lieve he does. The Chinaman who sees daily the good work done by a white man, if he does not himself become a Christian, at least lays aside the desire to murder him.

It is worth noting that where the white man in China is seen most frequently, there, little by little, he has awakened the most tolerance amongst the natives. How, then, can we account for the strange massacres that have taken place at short intervals, not merely in the interior, but at treaty ports like the one at Tientsin in 1870? A study of the different assaults upon foreigners in China forces us reluctantly to the conclusion that in almost every case these have been instigated and carried out, if not by Government agents, at least with their consent and approval. The public is officially informed, in every case, that such and such a mission station was destroyed by the mob, and that the Chinese Government could not possibly prevent such outbreaks. The Chinese Government, however, has always succeeded in punishing severely any disobedience against its own orders. It is only when the victim is a white man that the mandarins prove powerless to interfere. Even when ringleaders have been indicated, these have always found Chinese protection; and, in short, China from top to bottom has given abundant evidence that she does not desire to maintain her share in treaties which encourage white people to reside in the Celestial Empire.

The German Emperor, when he avenged the death of his missionaries by seizing Kiao Chao, acted in a manner strange to our rules of international law, but under the circumstances he gave China a lesson that she sadly required. It is a lesson which should be repeated on every fitting occasion; for, in the last three centuries, it is the only one by which she has ever profited in her intercourse with the white man.

In 1647, the East India Company commenced British trade with China by sending to the Canton River the four good ships "Dragon," "Sun," "Catherine," and "Anne." They anchored off the Bogue Forts, and at the request of the mandarins waited for the promised trade facilities. They waited four days, at the end of which time the Chinese forts opened fire upon them with "forty-six of iron-caste ordnance, each piece between six and seven hundredweight." The ancient chronicler then remarks: "Herewith the whole fleet, being instantly incensed, did on a sudden display the bloody ensign." The result of it was a landing party,

the capture of the Fort, and an excellent understanding with the mandarins. From Canton River, in 1647, to Kiao Chao Bay, in 1897, no better method of dealing with official China has yet been devised. It has always been the same old story of official mendacity and treachery, followed by an explosion of wrath and violence from the white man's side, after which has ensued a period of good understanding and trade expansion.

Up to the time when Queen Victoria ascended the throne of England, Anglo-Saxon traders were tolerated at Canton much as infected emigrants are treated in New York harbor. They were the victims of official insolence and interference; forbidden to have their wives and families with them; forbidden to go into the country; forbidden to enter the Chinese city. No Chinaman was allowed to give them instruction, and their intercourse was strictly limited to officials specially selected. No changes have been effected during the many years that have passed, save such as have been wrung from an unwilling government by threats of bombardment. The white man has had no serious war with China, speaking in a European sense. The Opium War, the Lorcha Arrow War, the Anglo-French Expedition of 1860—these and similar smaller enterprises were all undertaken to avenge gross breaches of the law of nations. The history of England's intercourse with China shows but too clearly that, so far from having misused her strength in bullying a weaker nation, she has, to an extraordinary extent, submitted to official insult and violation of treaty rights rather than have recourse to force.

When Commodore Perry anchored his fleet in Yeddo Bay, less than half a century ago, he awakened a people artificially hampered by mediæval custom, but whose bodies and brains pulsated to the calls of the nineteenth century. Japan arose as one man, and to-day honors the name of Perry with a fervor only second to that which we have for Christopher Columbus. Europe has been thundering at the gates of China for three hundred years, but this thunder has started no more echo than moist firecrackers. One city of China may be smashed to pieces, but the next takes no interest in it. A whole province may be overrun by the enemy without calling forth any help from its neighbors. Through generation after generation of officialism, ignorant, retrograde and corrupt, the great body of China has become torpid, and will remain so for just so long as the white man permits the

present administration to persist. The vast official body of China has, or believes that it has, a direct pecuniary interest in the repression, or at least the discouragement, of foreign intercourse. The official ring of China covers that country to a degree not far removed from that to which Tammany Hall controls New York. The mandarin has large vested interests which are all threatened by intercourse with people of our education; consequently the rulers of cities encourage their people to believe that dirty streets are good, and that pestilence must be combated by backsheesh to the priests. The white man forms a settlement wherein the streets are cleaned, lighted and policed; where hospitals care for the sick; where courts of justice are open to all. Such things as these are an abomination to the orthodox Chinese official, to the same degree that the late Colonel Waring, who first cleaned the streets of New York, was an eyesore to professional politicians.

Chinese officialdom is at war with the white man's civilization, and it fights with the weapons it deems most effective. Gunboats and battalions are not to its taste. So it makes a treaty every paragraph of which it proceeds to nullify the moment the ink is dry. It instigates murder, and then explains officially that it was the mob that was responsible.

In 1858 there was signed the famous treaty of Tientsin. The eighth article of this treaty is regarded as something of a Magna Charta, at least by the missionary. It reads:

"The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with."

So far as paper and ink are concerned, the white man in China has secured as much official protection as he needs for carrying on trade or conducting missionary enterprise. But, side by side with these generous treaty concessions, the Chinese Government has tolerated the systematic incitement of the mob to every act calculated to make treaties of no avail. So far back as 1754, foreign residents complained that "injurious posters were annually put up by the government, accusing foreigners of horrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace."

Even then, the accusations were made that missionaries gouged out the eyes of foundlings and mutilated women in a vile manner—charges which have been persisted in to our day. When vigorously addressed by a combination of foreign powers, the Pekin government has always officially repudiated the authors of these posters; but at the same time it has given private intimation that this propaganda was pleasing to the Emperor. Indeed, those who publish the filthy posters invoke official sanction by printing, as preface, the *Sacred Edict*—a sort of paternal address from the throne promulgated by the joint efforts of two canonized emperors some two centuries ago. Dr. Williams, in his "Middle Kingdom," says that this document is regarded as a most sacred command, which is proclaimed throughout the Empire by the local officers on the 1st and 15th days of every month.

As a pendant of the Tientsin Treaty it is worth preserving. It reads thus:

"With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teachings of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to differences and irregularities, and to undermine the foundations of all things; all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines which must be suppressed and exterminated. . . . From ancient times, the three religions have been propagated together. Besides Confucianism, which holds the pre-eminence, we have Buddhism and Taoism. . . . There is, however, a class of vagabond adventurers (Christian) who under the pretext of teaching these systems (Buddhism, etc.), bring them into the greatest disrepute, making false parade of what is propitious and unpropitious, and of future rewards and punishments, for the purpose of giving currency to their foolish and unfounded stories. Their object in the beginning is to make a living. By degrees they collect men and women into promiscuous gatherings for the purpose of burning incense. . . . The worst of all is that there lurk within these assemblies treacherous, depraved and designing persons, who form dangerous combinations and pledge themselves to each other by oaths. They meet in darkness and disperse at dawn. They imperil their lives, sin against righteousness, and deceive and entrap the people. . . . Such is the religion of the West, which reveres the Lord of heaven. It also is not to be regarded as orthodox. Because its teachers (the early Jesuits) were well versed in mathematics, our government made use of them. Of this you must not be ignorant. As to unauthorized doctrines which deceive the people, our laws cannot tolerate them. For false and corrupt teachers our government has fixed punishments."

Thus with one hand the Chinese Government promises the white man legal protection, and with the other pledges his favor to the mob when it guts the missionary compound and murders the unorthodox inmates.

The public misrepresentations of the spirit and aims of the Christian religion and of the objects which animate Christian missionaries in their work are almost incredible. I have before me a specimen of the posters which are from time to time exhibited throughout the country with a view to bring indignation and contempt upon the foreigner. It represents our Saviour in the shape of a hog. He is being worshipped by two "foreign devils," the one marked "teacher," the other "disciple." These two are branded with the most insulting epithets known to Chinese vocabulary, notably those indicating lack of sexual virtue. One inscription reads: "This is the beast which the foreign devils follow. The hog's skin and bristles are still upon him."

Down the left-hand side of the picture and in the middle of the poster are inscriptions which are absolutely too obscene for publication.

The interest of this poster lies not in its indecency and quaint exhibition of ignorance, but in the fact that it has been distributed with official connivance throughout China; that it has been exposed in public places alongside of imperial edicts forbidding the publication of such posters; and that whenever massacres have taken place the mob has been first inflamed by teaching of this nature.

In 1870, on the 21st of June, the mob at Tientsin attacked the French mission, murdering ten Sisters of Mercy, amongst others. This massacre was followed by a trial which even the most careful students of things Chinese regarded as a fraud. A dozen or so of innocent coolies were decapitated, but the real authors were rewarded, because they were high in office. In the midst of the Franco-German War this horrible massacre was little noticed in Europe; and, after all, it differed only in degree from a dozen others, all instigated by the official organization which prepared the filthy posters to which I have referred.

The Tientsin massacres were preceded by a flood of posters teaching the mob that missionary establishments abducted native women and children for purposes of mutilation.

Every diabolical practice is attributed to missionaries, not merely for religious purposes, but for the mere greed of money.

The Chinaman is taught to think that they extract the eyes of his dead countrymen in order to use them in the manufacture of precious metals. Some recent cartoons even accuse Christians

of gouging Chinese eyes out before death. One cartoon exhibits to the mob two murderous missionaries in the act of taking out eyes, while a couple of blind Chinamen are groping about in misery. This cartoon is headed: "The Hog Sect gouging out the eyes." A popular pamphlet distributed by officials for the purpose of inciting hatred of the foreigner makes this statement:

"In case of funerals, the religious teachers eject all the relatives and friends from the house, and the corpse is put into the coffin with closed doors. Both eyes are secretly taken out, and the orifices sealed up with plaster. This is what is called 'sealing the eyes for the Western journey.' . . . The reason for extracting the eyes is this: From one hundred pounds of Chinese lead eight pounds of silver can be extracted, and the remaining ninety-two pounds of lead can be sold at the original cost, but the only way to obtain this silver is by compounding the lead with the eyes of Chinamen. The eyes of foreigners are of no use for this purpose, hence they do not take out the eyes of their own people, but only those of the Chinese. The method by which the silver is obtained has never been discovered by any of the native Christians, during the long period in which this religion has been propagated here."

No trash is too silly so long as it charges cruelty, lewdness, and money-greed to the white man in general, and to the missionary in particular. At a distance of ten thousand miles, we can afford to smile at these infantile productions and pity the perpetrators, as did John Huss those who reviled him. But to the white man on the spot these are more than the squibs of mischievous children. They are the programme of a government too weak to establish sound administration, but strong enough to obstruct the white man in his efforts at reform.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

AMERICA'S TREATMENT OF THE CHINESE.

BY CHARLES F. HOLDER.

A DISTINGUISHED French diplomat recently said: "America is not the disinterested figure generally supposed. She will be forced to take sides in the partition of China if it comes, and will not submit to fill the mere office of a looker on in Venice. Moreover," continued the speaker, "the policy of America has been distinctly aggressive and anti-Chinese since 1868. The United States government has in every way outraged China, has broken its treaties time and again, and, if the history of these wrongs were written it would show that China has had reason for a declaration of war against the government of the States time and again. I know not what you think; but to a European outsider the United States has for years carried a chip on its shoulder; and the assumption is that it would welcome a war with China, that the opportunity might afford an excuse to acquire a port or colony in China for its commercial aggrandisement."

There is hardly an American reader who will not laugh at this rodomontade, but, while it may seem a waste of time to prove the futility of such suspicions on the part of foreigners as to the purposes which have animated us in our dealings with China, it is interesting to glance at our treaty relations with China from the standpoint of an alien, and note how we have carried out our obligations, and what our treatment of China has actually been.

Our first treaty with China was negotiated by Caleb Cushing, who as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary went to China in 1844, bearing a letter to the Emperor from President Tyler. But four years before then, the British fleet had bombarded the ports which had been sealed for centuries; and as a result, five ports were open at the time of Mr. Cushing's mission, and Great Britain was in full possession of Hong Kong, which had been ceded in perpetuity by the helpless and impotent nation.

Mr. Cushing had, in a large measure, discretionary powers, and after assuring the Emperor that America was not in sympathy with the attitude of Great Britain in seizing Hong Kong, he negotiated the Treaty of Wang Hiya, which constitutes the first act of official intercourse this country has had with China.

This treaty, which has always been of great benefit to us, gave Americans the right of residence at the treaty ports. This was considered by the Chinese a remarkable concession, and Mr. Cushing was given to understand that it was granted in appreciation of the friendly attitude of America, though it was a self-evident fact that Americans could not have been kept out. The treaty did not end here. By it, Americans obtained extra-territorial privileges which, among other things, gave them the right to be tried in their consular courts. Mr. Cushing also secured the insertion of what is known as the "most favored nation clause," which placed American citizens on a par with the citizens of other nations.

These were the first concessions obtained from the Chinese, the first clouds on the Celestial horizon suggestive of their ultimate undoing; the door once open, the cupidity of the entire commercial world was aroused. The concession of Hong Kong to Great Britain was but a sop thrown to delay the inevitable; and seventeen years after the opening of the doors of China we find England and France allied for the purpose of prying open the Chinese oyster still wider.

The attitude of America at that juncture is a matter of history, and it was commendable from a diplomatic and humanitarian point of view. We were invited by the Powers interested to make common cause with them against China, but we declined and sent a special envoy, in the person of W. B. Reed, to inform the Emperor that we were not in sympathy with the action of the Powers. Our position was criticised by England, whose wits expressed the opinion that America declined to join in the war, as a matter of economy, but sent a fleet up the Peiho in the wake of the ships of France and England, and secured all the commercial benefits without a corresponding expense.

This was, to a certain extent, true; as, after this war, we obtained our second treaty with China, while England and France paid the expense; their combined fleets forcing open six new ports, and our envoy, Mr. Reed, obtaining with them the right of trade and residence. This treaty begins as follows:

"There shall be, as there always has been, peace between the United States of America and the Ta-Tsing Empire and between their people, respectively. They shall not insult or oppress each other for any trifling cause, so as to produce an estrangement between them."

This was, surely, a gentle satire on future events, as Americans have undoubtedly treated the Chinese in America with studied disrespect. The Chinese have retaliated by making this country the dumping ground of their criminals, the great seat of their slave trade, and in many directions have dispossessed the American laborer.

The third treaty with China was consummated by Anson Burlingame, who was Minister to China in 1863; a compact which was at the root of all the labor troubles on the Pacific coast, and which dominated politics about the Golden Gate for three decades. At this time Senator Stanford, Mr. Huntington and other railroad men were figuring on the Pacific Railroad and needed cheap labor to accomplish it. Mr. Burlingame was requested to say to the Ta-Tsing government that America would welcome Chinese emigrants in unlimited numbers. Previous to this there was an unwritten law in the Orient that no Chinaman should leave his country, but the invitation of America brought about a change. The Ta-Tsing government recognized an opportunity to reduce its surplus paupers and criminals, and a treaty was readily agreed upon. It began as follows, and it is interesting reading in the light of later events:

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance; and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."

At the invitation of our government the Chinese poured into this country in a human river, whose flow never flagged, and in 1867 the Chinese population of the Pacific slope was formidable and portentous. A cry went up, American labor sounded the alarm, and the abrogation of the famous Burlingame treaty was demanded. While attempts were being made in this direction, the hoodlum element of San Francisco determined to take time by the forelock and Chinamen by the queue, and what was known as the "sand-lot agitation," a protest against the third treaty, was begun. So intense was the excitement that the government was obliged to

interfere, and a special embassy, composed of James B. Angell, W. H. Trescott and John F. Swift, was appointed by President Hayes and sent to Peking to request a modification of the treaty, which a decade before Mr. Burlingame had used every device known to the skilled diplomat to obtain. Under some circumstances it would have been humiliating to the national pride, but the Pacific coast was aflame. Law and order were crushed under foot, and it was manifestly impossible to protect Chinamen in America; hence the modification of the treaty was demanded and received.

The modified treaty is of interest at this time in its bearing upon the Hawaiian Islands, now a territory of the United States. The first article reads:

"Whenever, in the opinion of the United States, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of that country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the government of China agrees that the government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it."

The result of this treaty was the nominal stoppage of Chinese immigration, with the favored nation clause included, a feature which had constituted the essence of one of our early treaties. Up to this time China and the United States had been on terms of cordiality, but the new treaty did not satisfy the anti-Chinese party on the Pacific coast, and a series of outrages was begun, which, to the unprejudiced observer, suggest that the criticism of the French diplomat is not without reason, and that we have not observed the spirit of our treaties with China. In truth, for purely local political reasons certain rights of the Chinese have not been respected. Difficulties began to accumulate in 1882, when Congress took action on the Angell treaty, and passed an act, the first section of which states:

"That from and after the expiration of ninety days after the passage of this Act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is, hereby suspended for ten years; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborers to come, or having so come after the expiration of ninety days, to remain within the United States."

The first effect of this was noticed in China, where the Chinese began to retaliate against Americans, many of whom were obliged to take refuge in consulates, and a general uprising against for-

eigners was threatened. The records show that three years after the Chinese Restriction Act was put in force, 40,222 Chinese had returned to China, and but 18,704 had entered the United States. To illustrate the feeling at this time, it is told by a school teacher in a primary school in San Francisco, that the children having bought an American flag with their money, she asked them to select some sentiment to work upon it. One little boy raised his hand, and on being asked what he would inscribe on the flag, replied: "The Chinese must go." Such was the sentiment when even children were taught to hoot at and hurl stones at Chinamen.

In the election of 1888 each political party on the Pacific coast made the sentiment of this child its party cry. It was a local issue, but was soon made a national question by the astute leaders, who knew that by obtaining anti-Chinese legislation in Congress the party on the Coast would be aided. So a new treaty was prepared and submitted to the Chinese Minister and his government, then amended in the Senate, and finally, that it might not be too late for its intended effect upon the voters, the Democratic party in the House forced what is known as the "Scott Exclusion Act" through Congress, and it was signed by President Cleveland. In truth, so far as our former treaties were concerned, and looking at it from a non-partisan point of view, it was an outrage upon the proprieties, a gratuitous insult to a great yet defenseless nation. The act completely demoralized the Chinese in this country, which was the intention. By it twenty thousand certificates were declared null and void, twenty thousand promises, on the honor of the United States, that the holders should be allowed to return, were ruthlessly broken; and, to satisfy the clamor of irresponsible bands of hoodlums led by sand-lot politicians in San Francisco, the whole machinery of the government was prostituted that votes might be secured, and the act was passed by Congress while the treaty was pending. The action was so gross that it called forth criticism from the English press, and William M. Evarts voiced his indignation in a public address, saying that "it was the first time in the diplomatic history of this country of an intervention by legislative action while there was a treaty, negotiated by this government, pending for adoption by a foreign country." The incident was considered an insult by all the Powers, who professed to believe at the time, and with apparent reason, that we were

trying to provoke war as an excuse for taking a hand in managing the affairs of China. That Mr. Sherman resented the indignity thrust upon Americans is shown in the following utterance of his: "If Great Britain were to act thus toward the American people, he would not hesitate to vote either for the declaration of non-intercourse or war." Yet there was no hidden aggressive policy in the act. It was merely a vagary of what is known as American politics, where local politicians have the power, through Senators and Representatives, to force action and interfere in the diplomatic affairs of the Department of State. In a word, the political leaders of the Pacific coast succeeded in committing the entire government to an act that was a gross violation of the supplemental treaty of 1880.

It is not surprising, then, that the Great Powers affected to believe that the United States had ulterior motives.

It is interesting to note the dignified protest from the Chinese Minister at this last outrage. He said, in a letter to Mr. Blaine:

> "In my country we have acted upon the conviction that, where two nations deliberately and solemnly enter upon treaty stipulations, they thereby form a sacred compact from which they could not be honorably discharged, except through friendly negotiations and a new agreement. I was, therefore, not prepared to learn through the medium of that great tribunal (the Supreme Court) that there was a way recognized in the law and practice of this country whereby your government could release itself from treaty obligations without consultation with or consent of the other party to what we had been accustomed to regard as a sacred instrument."

It was a difficult matter for our astute and diplomatic Secretary to reply to this and other letters and protests, and still preserve the dignity of this country intact. Indeed, in some instances the Department of State was the laughing stock of Europe, notably in the case of the Denver riots. Chinamen had been shot down without cause, and a strong protest was made by the Chinese Minister, who, referring to the treaty, demanded that the guilty parties should be brought to justice, pointing out that in China such attacks against American citizens resulted in the beheading of the guilty parties. Mr. Evarts had but one reply to make, and it was that, under the Constitution, "Federal authorities could not interfere with the municipal affairs of a State; hence the United States government was not responsible," ending by referring the Minister to the Governor of Colorado.

This was a confession of weakness, and it was commented upon by the British and German press, while the reply of the Chinese Minister made all Europe smile. His reply was that the Chinese government had no treaties with Colorado, hence did not look to that State for justice. In the terse epigrammatic diction of the day, there was but one thing for Mr. Evarts to do, and, as a Democratic paper said, he "sawed wood," and the Denver affair, so far as compensation is concerned, still hangs fire.

What those who affected to believe that America was following out a well-defined policy of aggression called a "long line of abuses" followed, the chief of which was the Geary bill, a result of Pacific coast clamor, which was intended to bundle out the Chinese faster, and its form and various clauses brought many protests from the Chinese Minister, which, it is needless to say, were unavailing. The Geary bill was an extremely harsh measure. It provided that Chinamen who were arrested must prove that they were here previous to the passage of the bill, or go to prison for a year, and then be deported. All Chinese laborers in the States were obliged to apply to the Internal Revenue Collector for a certificate of residence. When Chinamen landed and there was any question regarding their right, and a writ of *habeas corpus* had been applied for to get them ashore, no bail was accepted, and they were thrown into jail—a proceeding which, if applied to citizens of any of the great European powers, would have resulted in war.

CHARLES F. HOLDER.

AMERICA'S DUTY IN CHINA.

BY JOHN BARRETT, FORMERLY UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

CHRISTENDOM is staggered by the crisis in China. But America's duty is definite; her path is plain.

The world's policy in Cathay is the commanding question of the hour. It overshadows national controversies regarding imperialism and the coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. It is the paramount issue in an international campaign to conserve the world-quickening forces of Christianity, Civilization and Commerce.

Therefore, every American, even in this sultry mid-summer month, whether leisurely resting in cool resorts or laboriously earning his daily bread in city or country, should study well the part America must play on this new stage of international action.

In Asia, America and the world are face to face with an unparalleled and unprecedented situation; but America's policy will be the allied world's policy, if America acts on the strength of her unique position and does not shirk the impending task.

We see the United States unexpectedly summoned to meet in China graver moral responsibilities than it has ever confronted in the Philippines. Likewise, it is challenged by greater material

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opportunities than it will ever discover in all the other undeveloped portions of the world.

In this hour of peril and through trials that shall follow, we must remember that we are a Christian as well as a commercial nation. We are a moral as well as a material force. We are a civilizing as well as an exploiting agency. This is a supreme test in the competition of nations, in a struggle where the principle of the survival of the fittest has its stern and cruel application. Possibly now, as China and the allied nations of the world are in deadly struggle in North China, whether with riotous hordes or government forces, our Anglo-Saxon race, our Anglo-Saxon religions, our Anglo-Saxon systems of society and government are at stake. We cannot, therefore, quail before our responsibility. There is no question of imperialism or expansion involved other than that of the salvation and extension of our race and our institutions.

I do not mean that the United States shall go out of its way to assume responsibilities, to arrogate to itself leadership, to take ostentatiously upon its shoulders the burdens of the world. Rather shall it simply perform its plain duty, as an officer in battle, who, standing in a central, commanding strategic position, holds the fate of his regiment in his hands and determines victory by combining discretion with heroism.

I. AMERICA'S POSITION AND POLICY.

Through all the confusion of the present and the mystery of the future, there stand out these dominant considerations:

First, America is the logical arbiter of China's future; the fate of the Empire depends upon the favor of the Republic;

Second, if there is a Yellow Peril threatening the White World, America, more than any other Power, can lead the way to rendering it colorless and innocuous; because,

Third, America is the only nation present in China to-day, with force and with prominent interests, rights, and commerce, which has the unqualified confidence and trust of the European nations, Japan and China alike, or is not the object of long-standing jealousy and distrust; and,

Fourth, an International Congress or Conference, in which America for the three reasons just given should occupy a prominent and possibly the leading part, will, in the nature of events, be assembled in the near future, to consider what shall be the

attitude and policy of the nations of the world, not only in coping with the great problems of the re-establishment of order, the rehabilitation of the Government, the award of punishment and indemnities, but in determining the future status of China's government and territory and their relation to the outer world.

With this responsibility and position, what shall America's policy include? There should be no equivocation as to the principles involved. Expressed briefly, the main planks in our Chinese platform might be stated as follows:

1. The United States desires and should take no port, province or part of China, either as a sphere of temporary influence or as an area of actual sovereignty.

2. The United States should oppose, with all its moral, political and diplomatic influence, any partition of China among the foreign Powers, or any delimitation of acknowledged spheres of influence.

3. The United States should insist upon the permanent maintenance of the trade principle of the Open Door; as outlined in the present Chinese treaties, throughout all China, by all the Powers endeavoring to exercise influence within her limits.

4. The United States, provided the dissolution of the Empire is inevitable, despite our best efforts of diplomacy and moral suasion, should insist upon the guarantee, by formal convention, of the Open Door principle in all the various areas of foreign sovereignty in China, and will carefully guard against excuses for discriminating duties, national rebates or subsidies, and special freight charges—for the consuming powers of an increasing population of four hundred millions of people and the material development of four millions of square miles are involved.

5. The United States, acting with charity and equity, and in no spirit of vengeance, should employ all its moral and material influence in prescribing just punishment and indemnity for loss of life and property sustained at the hands of fanatical and insurrectionary mobs; in adjusting the true moral responsibility of the overwhelmed government; in establishing permanent order and honest progressive administration of government throughout the Empire; in safeguarding, both for the present and the future, the lives, rights and holdings of missionaries, merchants and other foreign residents; and, finally, in so preparing the way for peace, order and prosperity, to be followed by liberty, justice and free-

dom under the guiding direction of Christian civilization, that we shall win the lasting gratitude of the countless blameless Chinese and make them forever our disciples in moral and material progress.

With the future of China there are concerned four great European factors: Russia, England, Germany and France; two Asiatic, China herself, and Japan; one American, the United States. In such a combination jealousies, distrust and bickerings may clog the way to a satisfactory solution of the great problem. For instance, which one of the first four would the other three select and follow? They could unite on none, and yet all are most friendly to the United States and always willing to listen to its representations. Again, what non-Asiatic Power would China and Japan alike trust? Only America. This was confirmed by their attitude toward America in their late war. Toward what country has China the most friendly feeling? Without doubt, America. For a long time she has recognized us as the only country desiring none of her territory, and wishing to maintain only and always the most amicable relations with her. Even the Chinese Exclusion Act has cut little figure in Chinese-American relations, for its operation has been felt only by a small portion of Chinese in the southern part of the Empire. My theory is simply that the United States is the one nation, from its remarkable strength of position, that can exercise the vigorous moral influence and leadership in the coming negotiations of the Powers, which will assure the settlement of the present crisis, first, with strict justice and honor to all nations concerned, and, second, with no selfish scramble for territory that will lead to the violent break-up of the Empire and the ultimate shutting of the Open Door.

To some, in describing America's prominence and in emphasizing the importance of the crisis, my words may seem those of enthusiasm or exaggeration. Some years' diplomatic experience in Asia may make me speak feelingly, but not rashly and incorrectly. Conditions, not imagination, inspire my conclusions.

II. THE OPEN DOOR AND PARTITION.

Expressed plainly, America has everything to lose and nothing to gain by a divided China; equally true is it that America has everything to gain and nothing to lose by an undivided China.

With China actually partitioned among the foreign Powers,

or nominally divided into spheres of influence, we can still have the Open Door. It will exist, however, with the ever-present possibility that actual sovereignty would eventually close the door through discriminations or rebates in duties or freights. Possession, moreover, is nine-tenths of the law, and agreements made in troublous times of Chinese sovereignty may not be held always sacred in times of European sovereignty, especially if new international complications shall develop.

America's chief market in China is now found in Manchuria and in the provinces inclosing the Gulf of Pechili, the scene of the present revolution. Throughout this area we have so far had the Open Door and been able to sell our manufactured cotton goods in successful competition with the rest of the world. We have developed our sales of cotton textiles from $1,600,000 to over $10,000,000 in the last ten years. If the Open Door is maintained, we shall build up this trade tenfold or more. On the other hand, if Russia, Germany or some other Power assume sovereignty, there is the imminent possibility of the cotton manufacturers of those countries demanding preferential railway or steamer rates, which will annul the force of any agreements. They may even demand of their respective governments that these agreements shall be cancelled. This would not be done without protest and difficulty, but when the first international complication arose, or when, for instance, retaliation in trade relations might be necessary, there would be a change of tariffs and duties that might shut out the American product.

Here the Southern States have vast concern. The new industrial prosperity of Dixie has its opportunity largely in supplying manufactured cotton goods to China. The closing of that field of consumption permanently would bring widespread depression to the South.

This is only one illustration. The same story might be true of a French sphere in Kwang-tung, Kwang-se and Yun-nan; of a Japanese sphere in Fuh-keen; of an Italian sphere in Che-keang; of a German sphere in Shan-tung, although we must give these countries credit for assurances that they will follow the policy of the Open Door.

Great Britain has gone so strongly on record as favoring the Open Door, and has so faithfully proved the honesty of her intentions by her policy in her dependencies, that we need have little

worry about the future of the great Yangtsze Valley. Unfortunately, however, our interests and opportunities there are not so large as in the sections which might go to countries that have not proved their good faith through both preachings and practice during an extensive period of years.

While describing the possible dangers of a partition of China, let us be fair and give due credit to other countries. Let us not forget that in the Russian territory of Eastern Siberia and in Manchuria, where Russia now is apparently evolving a sphere of influence, American trade is rapidly developing, and that there is a vast field there for legitimate exploitation. If the conventions which Russia, Germany and France have signed with China, in regard to certain ports and parts of the Empire, include terms which would seem to be in violation of the spirit and letter of our treaties with China in the matter of the Open Door and equal privileges and rights, there has not yet been any test case of importance to prove that there is discrimination against us.

Great Britain has been the pioneer in the Open Door movement, but only two years ago she was appealing in vain to us for co-operation to prevent alienation of territory and to protect trade rights. Lord Charles Beresford forewarned us of present events, but excited no interest beyond a cordial reception. With the hope of stirring up political passion, certain demagogues denounce any possible sympathy of the United States with England in the latter's Chinese policy. This is done in face of the fact that, wherever English authority is paramount in Asia, there are order, prosperity and a fair chance for everybody and all nations—unless nature, in the form of famine, brings unrest. In Hong Kong, England has demonstrated how successfully she can lead the Chinese to their and her advantage.

Russia has worked mighty changes in Eastern Siberia. She generally has extended to America a welcoming hand in commerce. She announces Dalny, formerly Talienwan, as a free port and gateway to Manchuria. Germany proclaims that there will be no discrimination at Ching-taou, or Kiao-chow, against the merchants and ships of other nations.

The masterly diplomacy of Secretary Hay has, furthermore, secured recent assurances, from all the Governments interested in China, that American rights will be permanently safeguarded. If the Powers are sincere, we can be hopeful of the future, but

the treachery of international complications often renders meaningless diplomatic notes exchanged in a friendly hour.

If, by the inevitable force of world-events, China is to be despoiled of her territory, then let this same diplomacy of John Hay, or his successor, obtain from every nation securing sovereignty over a part of the Empire a lasting agreement, in unqualified terms, that America shall have in perpetuity the same rights of trade therein as are granted not only to the most favored nation, but to the sovereign power itself. Let this agreement not be confined to a diplomatic note, nor to an exchange of intentions with happy felicitation, but let it be a binding convention, formally signed and sealed.

In this connection, there occurs this vital consideration: In all reasonable probability there is not a Power that will refuse to be a party to such a treaty, if America firmly presses the point to consummation. There is also the cardinal thought in this whole question, that stands out like a beacon light: No power will insist to the limit of force upon the division of China, if America protests with all its moral resources against division.

III. THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE.

In this world-crisis, where races, religions, institutions are at stake, America's policy in China should be supported by Democrats and Republicans alike.

The partisan plea that President McKinley's unremitting efforts to protect American life and property in China may lead us into war with some European Power is not well founded. There is little probability of our being embroiled, either in a single-handed or in an international war, if we follow our definite duty in the plain path before us, and do not shrink from the unavoidable moral responsibilities which are imposed upon us as a Christian nation, having vast interests at stake. We can afford to do our allotted work in China because our moral strength is admitted, and our moral and material interests demand it.

We shall need, as we are now exercising, broad diplomacy in adjusting to a nicety the Chinese situation. We are fortunate in the past achievements of the State Department; we, therefore, have confidence for the future. President McKinley, Secretary Hay, and their subordinates, have already won the confidence of the European Powers and Japan, and the lasting gratitude of

China, in the policies they have promulgated previous to the present revolution.

Since the first cry of distress and warning of disaster came from Peking, the Government has left no stone unturned to rescue the lives of our Minister and his family at Peking, and of missionaries and merchants in the same disturbed locality. Immediately following Mr. Conger's request for marines, they were dispatched with all haste to the capital. Then followed, as the danger of the situation developed, an unremitting endeavor to send reinforcements. All that were available were forwarded. The unfortunate contingencies of a typhoon in Manila Bay, the necessity of not weakening materially the force in the Philippines, the difficulties of approach to Tientsin and Peking, the distance of Taku from Manila and from the United States, cannot be set down at the door of the Administration. A careful survey of everything done since notification came to Washington from the only authoritative source, the legation at Peking, will show that the President cannot be held responsible for the reported disaster to foreigners at the capital.

We cannot blame the American residents of Shanghai, in their earnest desire for the protection of American lives and commerce, for using urgent terms in appealing to the Government to do everything in its power in this difficult situation, but if the Government has met that responsibility to the best of its ability, its efforts should be justly appreciated.

It must be remembered, moreover, while public sentiment is so deeply stirred, that every other Government, if there is blame, is as deeply involved in it as the United States. If Russia, with her force at Port Arthur, Great Britain at Wei-hai-wei, Germany at Ching-taou, and Japan with her unlimited resources near at hand, could not rescue their envoys, why should Americans suggest that the President could have saved the Minister of the United States? It must not be forgotten, also, that the foreign representatives themselves at Peking were, in a measure, responsible for the inability of their respective countries to rescue them. Had they made appeals for force earlier, these would have been honored. No request of Minister Conger, in this respect, has ever been pigeon-holed or disregarded by the State Department.

May I not here suggest that our possession of the Philippines —which the anti-imperialists so strenuously oppose as criminal

aggression, but which others, who spent long years in Asia and were in the Philippines during the development of the present situation, honestly believe are ours simply as a result of our courageously meeting unavoidable moral responsibilities, complicated by an insurrection inspired by ambitious leaders and the enemies of the United States—has enabled us to cope with the present Chinese situation in time, manner and force which would not have been possible without our presence there. Despite the failure of the allied troops to reach Peking in time, our record has been to our credit, pride and honor in the competition with other nations. Under other conditions, we would have been entirely dependent upon other Powers, and possibly treated by them with patronizing kindness or negative indifference. Our soldiers have been in the front lines of attack and defense, and we have done our part as a first-class Power in the presence of overwhelming responsibilities.

But if there is any doubt in the minds of some men about our policy in China, let there be no misunderstanding about territorial aggrandizement. Once and for all, we want no part of China; we will take no part of China; we demand only the Open Door and protection for the lives of our representatives, missionaries and merchants, under conditions of reform and progressive government.

Even visions of coaling stations and a northern rendezvous for our Philippine naval squadron must not tempt us at this hour into an equivocal position on this vital consideration. If we should weaken one jot or tittle, our influence in Asia would lose its healthy force. The confidence of Europe, the trust of Japan and the respect of China would then be forfeited. Nothing could save the integrity of the Empire, and the hinges of the Open Door would be oiled for the closing.

IV. A McKINLEY DOCTRINE IN ASIA.

We have a Monroe Doctrine in America; shall we not have a McKinley Doctrine in Asia? This is said in all seriousness and without a suggestion of political bias. No matter how much some men oppose the President's Philippine policy, either in honesty of conviction or in zeal of party fealty, the permanent protection of life and property, the well-being of missionaries and merchants, the vast moral and material interests of the United

States, and a high degree of patriotism should inspire them to support his Chinese policy—not only the policy of the moment, but that which he has already initiated in recent negotiations with the Powers.

Shall not the McKinley Doctrine in China mean that America shall stand with all its strength for the permanent maintenance of the Open Door in China—an open door through which the diplomat and the traveller, the missionary and the merchant, the engineer and the educator, shall pass and re-pass forever in safety?

As corollary to the main proposition, shall not the McKinley Doctrine in China mean that America shall stand with all its legitimate moral influence to prevent any Power whatsoever, monarchial or republican, acquiring sovereignty over any extended part of the present unpartitioned area? And, possibly, in the growing power and name of our good land, this use of moral influence, to the full extent of its lengthening tether, may in a peaceable way accomplish as much in Asia, as the use of moral *and* armed force, which the Monroe Doctrine involves, can accomplish in America.

Then, with the Monroe Doctrine shutting out Europe from governmental control of the Americas, and with the McKinley Doctrine opening up the vast markets and material opportunities of Asia to the United States, it may be indeed difficult to determine which doctrine will confer the most direct and lasting benefits on the largest number.

Commerce is the life-blood of nations. The commerce of Asia may yet be needed to give us the strength to conserve the governments and commerce of the Americas. The McKinley Doctrine in the Pacific and China may provide the sinews of war to defend the Monroe Doctrine in the Americas.

V. CHINESE RESPONSIBILITY.

In judging the responsibility of the Chinese people and government for these uprisings and massacres, we must be stern but not vengeful. We must find all of those who are guilty and punish them as they deserve. While the world is not in a mood to forgive the Chinese government for its compromising course with the so-called Boxers, it must remember that this has been a riotous movement, which has developed force and apparent organization as a snowball grows into an avalanche, and over-

whelmed both the government that temporized with it and the foreign forces that strove to check it. If the authorities had crushed it in its inception we would have heard little or nothing of it. Unfortunately for themselves and for the outer world, they let it go on, as sometimes we have even known American officials to do with mobs, until it was beyond control.

There is no question that recent seizures of territory by foreign Powers, particularly those in the Shan-tung and Liao-tung Peninsulas, have had a baneful effect. Moreover, anti-foreign officials in the interior, taking advantage of this foreign invasion and of their personal hatred of the missionaries, have even fostered the publishing of misleading placards about missionaries and other foreigners. They are largely responsible for the internal excitement. The widespread famine prevailing in North China has greatly aided the development of anti-foreign feeling. Lack of rain and failure of crops have been blamed upon the foreigners by Boxer agitators. The Boxers themselves are simply an organized anti-foreign body of men under a new name, who have excited the masses.

In dealing with them the Central Government made the cardinal error of compromising with them, instead of putting them down at first. Even such capable foreign representatives as Minister Wu at Washington, Minister Conger at Peking, and Consul-General Goodnow at Shanghai, did not seem to understand this mob movement and realize its strength until, like a flood started by a cloudburst, it was breaking through all barriers. What was the effect on the masses at a critical moment of bringing marines to Peking, of the capture of the Taku forts, of the reported burning of the Tsung-li-Yamen by German soldiers, of the alleged failure of the envoys to leave Peking when ordered, cannot yet be accurately told, but it would now appear to have added fuel to the flame.

In this connection, it is well to note the strong words of the Americans expressed at their mass meeting at Shanghai on July 18th. Their appeal included this significant conclusion: "The present outrages are the result of the weak and vacillating policy of the Powers in the past."

If the Powers have hesitated in the past, they will be staggered with the work now before them. The reorganization of the Chinese government on lines of modern progress will be a mighty

undertaking, of which the outside world has little conception. China is not lacking in able men; but conservatism, custom and tradition have figured so prominently in all administrations through centuries that radical changes and new methods will not be welcomed, and will be opposed by officials and masses alike.

VI. MISSIONARY AND MATERIAL INTERESTS.

Of the missionaries in China I have much more to say in praise than in censure. I do not sympathize with the superficial criticism often found in the treaty ports and expressed by passing travellers against them. They are doing far more good than harm. For years it was my privilege to study carefully their work in Siam, where over one hundred were under my jurisdiction; and in frequent visits to China I noted the methods and results of their labors there.

The sum and substance of the anti-missionary sentiment among the ignorant Chinese is this: the corrupt local officials are opposed to the missionaries, because the Chinese who are taught or converted by them know what is just and right, and demand it. Perhaps the matter goes up to the Viceroy for complaint through the Taotai or Consul and back again. This makes trouble for the official, and causes him in revenge to wink at anti-foreign agitation and the publication of malicious posters. When we withdraw our missionaries from Asia, then let us withdraw our ministers and merchants. The missionary interests of the world in China are too vast, too widely ramified and too deeply rooted for any foreign government to suggest that they shall be withdrawn from China. Then above all is the supreme consideration that the forces of Christianity which have been struggling for centuries in Asia cannot consider now for a moment the possibility of retreat and defeat.

Many may honestly differ with me in my opinion of missionary work, but I cling to the faith of our fathers, confirmed by long experience and observation in Asiatic city and jungle.

What has the world materially at stake in China? What has America at stake there? These questions are frequently proposed by those who, in the rush of other matters, have not heretofore studied China. In former contributions to the Review I have endeavored to point them out. Though summarized briefly, some of those which are important and suggestive of wide possi-

bilities are here noted. China, with 400,000,000 people, in 4,000,000 square miles, has only 400 miles of railway, but needs in the near future 40,000 miles. Her foreign trade is $333,000,000 per annum, an increase of one hundred per cent. in ten years. America's share, including Hong Kong, is $43,000,000, or one-eighth, in the mere infancy of its development. China's *per capita* trade, with greater potential resources than Japan, is less than one dollar, against Japan's six dollars. Apply the latter's ratio to China's population and we have the magnificent possibility of $2,400,000,000. There are mighty waterways, rivers and canals to be improved, dredged and bridged; coal, iron, gold, copper, tin and silver mines to be developed; numberless cities to be provided with waterworks, sewerage systems, electric lights and street railways; telegraphs and telephones to be extended; roads to be built, and countless increasing millions supplied with food, clothes and other growing wants of peoples coming into contact with the outer world.

In the face of these immeasurable opportunities, the improvement of which will bring vast benefits to capital and labor in America, who is willing to suggest that we shall retreat and leave China to the control of European nations?

In conclusion, I may be pardoned for quoting the final words of an address which I had the honor to deliver before the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce on the 12th of January, 1899: "I beg of you, in judging America's policy in the Far East, to remember that these closing days of the nineteenth century are times that try men's souls, when all nations are unsettled in policy and uncertain as to what the future will bring forth. There is confusion in the minds of the people and doubt in the thoughts of statesmen. The United States has its share of trial and tribulation. But there will soon be an end to it all, when the sunshine of peace and certainty must break through the dark clouds of politics. Let us hope that this day may soon come and bring with it such decision as will promote the comity, prosperity and well-being of all nations, American, European and Asiatic."

JOHN BARRETT.

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